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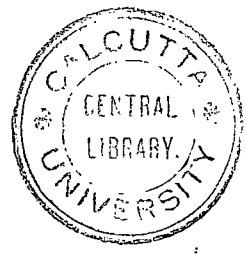

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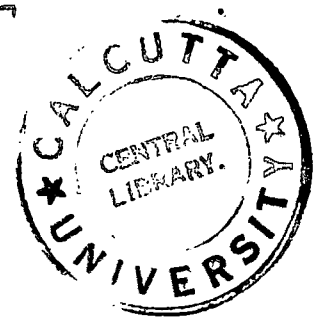

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HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ON 2ND MARCH, 1940

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

I do not propose this morning to speak to you at length. I am still a newcomer among you and I am deeply sensible of the honour which has fallen upon me of holding, as Governor of Bengal, the high office of Chancellor of this University and I am grateful, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for the welcome you have given me to this position.

In the short time that I have been here new impressions have crowded upon me on every turn—both here in Calcutta and still more perhaps in the fields and bypaths of rural Bengal. I have become conscious of long-standing, difficult, and at the same time urgent problems awaiting solution by the organised genius of the Bengalee people.

I am at heart a countryman and though I cannot speak to the man of the field in his own language as I would like to I have done what I can to get into personal touch with him and intend to do more. For, like you Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I realise how much the life of this Province depends on what you have called "the man behind the plough" and how much we, in this great city and in this great University, owe to the product of his labour. And just as the good cultivator leaves his land the better for his tending so should we, in whatever walk of life we find ourselves, strive to leave our mark for good.

I know I am voicing the feelings of every one here in expressing our gratitude to Sir Mirza Muhammad Ismail for an address this morning as profound and provoking as it is practical. His humane understanding of the value of the ordinary man, his deep and lively sympathy with the University generation, which stands on the threshold of life, his wide and balanced sense of values have put in our hands this morning what I can only describe as the touch-stone of true quality. Few of us can have listened to that address without

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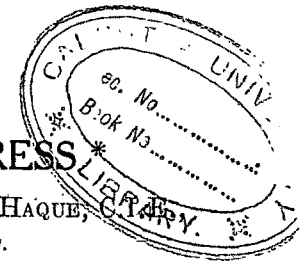
a deep searching in our own hearts and none of us will easily forget it. He has held before us a pattern of that intellectual and moral humility in which lies true greatness and has shown us how true scholarship and the richest gifts of intellect can be truly devoted to the service of mankind, India and Bengal. Surely there can be no higher aim than this for those who set out with all the enthusiasm of youth upon the campaign of life.

Many of you are about to leave the shelter of this great University and face the world with its joys and sorrows, with its unsolved problems and also with its great and far-reaching achievements. You will do so with all the enthusiasm of youth. To some of you the way may be difficult, to others easy. But I would counsel all of you to keep in mind the inspiring advice you have heard to-day and to remember that although you belong to a select intellectual group yet, in the words of a wise observer of life, Education is what remains to us when we have forgotten all our learning.



CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

By the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Haque, C.I.E.,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I at the outset take this opportunity of welcoming Your Excellency as the Chancellor of this University? Within the very short time that Your Excellency has been in charge of this Province, you have shown the keenest desire and anxiety to acquire first-hand knowledge of the realities of our rural life in this Province. We in this University are, therefore, anxiously looking forward that Your Excellency may soon have the opportunity to become familiar with the inner working of our University, so that Your Excellency may help us in solving the varied problems that confront us to-day. We fervently trust that during the period of your Chancellorship, we may be able to take many steps forward in our march towards the advancement of education and learning, and we on our part assure Your Excellency that we shall always be wholeheartedly behind you in any measure that Your Excellency as Chancellor may be pleased to take up to remove our difficulties and to solve our problems.

We are grateful to Sir Mirza Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., the Dewan of Mysore, for his kindly consenting to deliver the Convocation Address of this year and we are indeed happy to have him in our midst. I am sure, all of you are anxious to hear his words of mature wisdom based as it is on his experience of such a wide field of human endeavour, and I offer him on behalf of the University our sincere and cordial welcome.

* Delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University on 2nd March, 1940.

Life is so relentless in its course that it is the mournful duty of the Vice-Chancellor on every Convocation to refer to those who have departed from our midst. Mr. Biraj Mohan Majumdar, M.A., B.L., who was associated with the University Law College since its establishment in 1909, where he was the Vice-Principal from 1913 to 1935 and served this University in various capacities for many years, breathed his last on the 1st of April, 1939. The premature death of Maharaja Sir Manmathanath Raychaudhuri of Santosh, a Fellow of this University and formerly the President of the Bengal Legislative Council where he distinguished himself in establishing many sound parliamentary conventions and practices, removed a great figure from the public life of this Province. The death of Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen has been a great loss to this University. His contributions to the study of the Bengali language and literature have won the admiration and respect from scholars all over the world and are well-known to-day to every student of the language. I am sure, he will always be remembered as the greatest and the pioneer worker in the field of research which he had made his life-work. The Senate and the Syndicate of the University expressed their deep sense of loss by paying their tribute of respect and gratitude to their memory, and to-day I only wish once again to refer to their services to the cause of education in our Province.

Last year I made a brief survey of the many and varied activities of our University and I do not propose to cover the same ground to-day. Members of the University know that the first Matriculation Examination under the new regulations is to be held within a fortnight. It is not necessary for me at this stage to dilate on the need or necessity of these new regulations. Men of sound judgment

and experience, men who had devoted the best years of their life to the furtherance of the cause of education, first advocated these modifications in our educational system. There are still some in this Province who doubt the wisdom or utility of these changes. I would not wait to argue with them or with those who hold that the introduction of the mother-tongue as the medium of expression in the Matriculation teaching and examination is a retrograde measure. Whatever these critics may say, anyone who is in the least familiar with the psychology of the child and the adolescent will readily admit that a student so long had to grapple with two problems in his Matriculation test, firstly, the collection of ideas and the related facts to answer questions, and secondly, their translation into a language which is not the mother-tongue. Memorizing and cramming at the sacrifice of original thinking and expression of ideas in one's own language were the inevitable result of such a system. And this reform was neither sponsored in haste nor introduced in hurry. It was in September, 1922, that after full consideration the University submitted the first draft regulations for the new Matriculation Examination. The proposals were pending with Government from 1922 to 1934. Twelve years in the history of education is not a brief period for the discussion and critical examination of the proposals from every possible point of view. It was in September, 1934, barely three months after being called upon by the Right Hon'ble Sir John Anderson to be the Minister of Education, that I decided to close the chapter of protracted discussions and after obtaining the views of eminent educationists took the responsibility of finally giving sanction to these regulations on behalf of Government. Only in one respect there was a change from the draft proposal of 1922, namely that in place of Physics and Chemistry as one subject

I suggested Elementary Scientific Knowledge so that the student may know something about the achievements of modern science and the phenomena of nature which he sees all around him in his every-day life. And thus we unfolded before the youthful minds the fascinating tales and stories of modern science. Who is there so dull that he will not be moved by the immense dimensions and vast distances of the stars and the planets, by the cyclic changes of the seasons, by thrilling incidents of volcanoes, land-slides and earthquakes, by the instructive pictographs of soil formation and rocks or of rich ores of minerals or of the gushing fountains of subterranean oils, and above all by the modern wonders of steam and electricity? We realised that it would not be possible for the numerous schools in Bengal, circumstanced as they were, to immediately introduce the new regulations and specially the subject of Elementary Scientific Knowledge. Another six years' time was allowed for the effective introduction of the new regulations and a further period of three years' for the Elementary Scientific Knowledge. Twenty-one years will therefore pass by in 1943 when the new regulations will be in full force. May I in all humility tell our critics that the face of the world will then be almost undistinguishable compared with that of the year of grace 1922 when these regulations were first sponsored.

But there is one aspect of the question which has of late been ventilated in various places, specially by some of those who are connected with the management of schools. It is said that the new syllabus is overloaded and there are too many subjects for the Matriculation. I am afraid, the scope of the intended Matriculation standard has been completely misunderstood by these critics. When I try to analyse the reasons behind these view-points, I am inevitably brought to the conclusion that this criticism is probably based on the subconscious

faith of men more in text-books than in the contents of the subjects to be taught. I beg of these critics not to allow the text-books to get mastery over the subjects and the curriculum. Once you allow the text-book to get the supreme command, it is bound to be a strain on the students, the multiplicity of key books for easy mastery of different subjects will once again ruin the prospect of education; the power of original thinking will give way to cramming and " easy answers to questions " will kill the soul of education. Let it be remembered that the Matriculation Examination is usually taken by an average boy of 16 years, including two years—and in some subjects even a longer period—of instruction for the special Matriculation course and that the total period of his school instruction is about 10 years. I was a student under the old Middle English course which had to be passed at the end of the 10th to 12th year. We had to learn English, Bengali, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Geometry, Mensuration, Elementary Physics, Elementary Hygiene and Elementary Physical Geography. Nobody complained in those days that the syllabus was beyond the capacity of an average student. The subjects for the new Matriculation Examination are English, Vernacular, Classical Language, Mathematics, History and Geography with Elementary Scientific Knowledge three years after. I am yet to be convinced that the subjects are too many or that the syllabus on any of these subjects is heavy, though I may frankly say that there is possibly room for a further consideration of the syllabus of Elementary Scientific Knowledge. In any case, there is no doubt that the type of teaching must be on a different pattern from what has so long been followed if the requisite Matriculation standard has to be achieved. The University fully realised this aspect. We have over 1,500 schools in our charge including those in Assam. The orga-

nisation of better teaching in schools has therefore been the aim of this University for some years past. The payment of a minimum salary to teachers with greater security of tenure, provision of Provident Fund and other conditions are being enforced in our schools. Regulations for the revised B.T. course have also been changed recently. Unfortunately there are only two Training Colleges in Bengal and the necessity of taking some special steps with a view to training a larger number of teachers has been felt for some years past. Special classes for teachers have therefore been started by the University and only last year about 1,000 teachers were trained in the teaching of Geography, Elementary Science and other subjects. The number of teachers trained so far under this scheme within the last three years is over 2,500. It is hoped that in course of time every teacher will take advantage of the special training courses and that the teaching work in schools will achieve a higher standard than what it is to-day. But whatever that may be, a change in the standard of the Matriculation Examination was long overdue and we have introduced the new regulations only after mature deliberations and with our eyes fully open. Living in a world of competition to-day we cannot allow the best of our youths to spend ten years of early formative period in schools and in the end to make them a life-long victim of a mechanised system of education detrimental to the development of the individuality and the personality of the students.

May I briefly refer to the proposed changes in the Regulations which were accepted by the Senate only last week and now await the approval of Government, *viz.*, the inclusion of Islamic History and Culture as a subject by itself for the M.A. Examination? It was in 1929 as a member of the University Reorganisation Committee that I first proposed the organisation of a department of Islamic

studies. Immediately after I had the privilege of being appointed the Vice-Chancellor of this University, I took up the question in right earnest. I am happy to note that throughout the different stages of Committees, Conferences, Boards and Faculties, I had the unstinted support of all my colleagues in the University. May I be permitted to express my special gratitude to Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee who have throughout been the most enthusiastic supporters of the scheme? Speaking of the organisation of the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his Convocation Speech of 1922 said :—

" It is the unique triumph of this University that it was the first, here or elsewhere, to establish a Chair devoted exclusively to the promotion of study and research in Ancient Indian History and Culture ; and it was also the first seat of learning where the highest degree in the Faculty of Arts could be earned as the result of competent knowledge of the subject, which must be captivating to all truly patriotic Indians. Enormous are the difficulties of students and lecturers, particularly because there are so few text-books on these branches ; indeed, they have never received the compliment of recognition as regular subjects of study in any seat of learning."

May I to-day take this legitimate pride in the fact that once again it is the unique triumph of this University that it is the first here or elsewhere to take measures for the systematic provision for the promotion of study and research in Islamic History and Culture and that this subject had never received the compliment of recognition as a regular subject of study in any seat of learning? There is none in this great country or even outside who will not admit to-day that even though at the time when the department of Ancient Indian History

and Culture was first organised there were innumerable difficulties to be surmounted, that there were very few text-books and that the materials for lectures and teaching had to be collected from a variety of sources, this department has succeeded in producing many eminent scholars whose contributions to every branch of Ancient India's culture and civilisation have won the recognition all over the world. I look forward to the time when the department of Islamic History and Culture, inspite of the many initial difficulties before us to-day, will attract many eminent scholars who will reveal to the world the rich contributions of Islam to the history of civilization. For the Muslim students this will open out an empire of knowledge vast in extent and variety suiting their special aptitude requiring years of devoted study and research and will also give them an opportunity to consecrate their intellectual attainments to the service of Islam by expounding the fascinating record of the culture of Islam to the world, thus giving them a deeper insight into the basic features of their faith and its philosophy. Living in a world to-day when mistrust, misunderstanding and doubt dominate all aspects of human relationship, I look forward to the growth of a generation under the fostering care of this University who by their studies of the cultures of Ancient India and of Islam will succeed in ushering an era of mutual understanding and amity, where a Hindu will remain a Hindu in every sense of the term, deeply loyal to his own culture and traditions, and a Mussalman will remain a true Muslim with all his burning faith and his deep convictions, and yet they will grow up each respectful and tolerant of the other—thus creating an atmosphere of intellectual understanding in this land of diverse faiths, and leading up to the laying of the true foundations of our national life.

In connection with the problem of Muslim Education I wish once again to draw the immediate attention of Government and the public to the extreme paucity of Muslims in the science classes. I am speaking here only of the province of Bengal leaving out Assam. Within the last 10 years the annual average number of Muslims who passed the Matriculation Examination is about 2,235, but the number that passed the I.Sc. Examination is only 96, while the number of the Muslim B.Sc. graduates is only 18 on an average per year. There has practically been no rise in the number of Muslim science graduates within the last ten years. The corresponding annual average for the Hindus is 1,645 for the I.Sc. and 501 for the B.Sc. Examination. The number of Muslim M.Sc.'s is extremely small. In six years between 1933 and 1938 the total number of Muslims who passed the M.Sc. Examination is only 14 as against 650 Hindus. I trust that serious attention will immediately be given to this problem with a view to encouraging the Muslim students to join the science classes in larger numbers.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not once again draw your attention to some of our urgent needs. We have no spacious hall so that we have to hold the Convocation with great inconveniences to all; our record rooms are terribly congested and papers and files are kept almost as in godowns; the ever increasing needs of the Library require more space and we have not an inch of space for keeping more books; we do not know where to locate the Asutosh Museum which is collecting the relics of ancient Bengal; we have no space for holding the Teachers' training classes to provide for the special needs of Geography and Elementary Scientific Knowledge training classes; the Post-Graduate Arts classes require more rooms; but above all there is urgent need of expansion of our science laboratories.

It is well known that the foundation of our University College of Science has led to unprecedented development of original scientific research in this country. Distinguished scientists of India like Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Prof. Meghnad Saha, Prof. J. C. Ghosh have been connected with this college during the greater part of their career; our College of Science can truly claim to be the nursery of eminent scientific and industrial research workers who have gone out to all parts of India and have given the best of their labour and knowledge to the development of scientific teaching and research in their respective spheres; many scientific workers in various departments of Government and in many industries of India have gone out of this college. The eminent members of the staff of the college have done valuable research work and only a few months back the Burma Oil Co. placed a sum of over Rs. 33,000 to facilitate colloid research and for work on soil profiles in appreciation of the valuable work done by Prof. J. N. Mukherjee in connection with the Company's work on drilling mud.

The post-war development in Europe and in almost all the other countries in the world has brought out the urgent necessity for a planned scheme of scientific research in all directions and the British Government has been spending since 1925 over one million pounds equivalent to one crore and 30 lakhs of rupees a year in supplementing the research grants of scientific workers in the British Universities alone. Many new laboratories affecting the defence and industrial prosperity of the country have in addition been opened, such as the research laboratories of the Admiralty and the Air Ministry, the National Physical Laboratory, the Chemical Research Laboratory and the Fuel Research Station. Munificent gifts have come to these laboratories such as the gift of a quarter mil-

lion pounds by Henry Austin for the Cavendish Laboratory and Lord Nuffield's gift to the University of Oxford amounting to several millions of pounds. In America, over 30 million dollars are annually spent for the development of research. To our regret the departments in the University College of Science and our Science laboratories have been very unfortunate in respect of either getting special State grants or other gifts from the generous public, leaving aside the original endowments of Ghosh, Palit and Khaira and the grant by Sir P. C. Ray of his 15 years' salary. World conditions have now changed beyond recognition and if we want to live as a province worthy of our great past, to equip our students in their competition with others in the industrial and economic development of the country, it is absolutely necessary that the laboratories of the College of Science should be immediately expanded with extended scope for scientific research on a larger scale than what we are doing to-day. This development requires a considerable outlay of money and we have only to depend on our present available resources which are extremely limited. May I say once again, as I said last year, that this University can legitimately expect money from the State as well as from private persons for the necessary expansion of our laboratories and for furtherance of research works? For it is truly a national undertaking. If industries have benefited in the past from research in this University we can reasonably expect the industrial concerns to help us with their generous grants. This is a supreme question of national importance, which, if not tackled to-day, will cripple the future of our country and our province for generations to come. We are often prone to condemn those who are said to exploit our country and our province. We often forget that we do not make any national efforts to equip ourselves with

scientific knowledge and research, which always form the backbone of the economic and industrial development of a nation.

Graduates of this University, I will now conclude by addressing a few words to you. To-day you have formally received your degrees and after years of study your lives have been crowned with academic success. When you go out into the world, you will find that life is much more complex than what you have experienced so far. In the struggle of life, in making headway, play your part nobly and well, worthy of the education you have received. Much will depend on how you shape your future but wherever you may be, be upright yet respectful, fearless and yet considerate of the convictions of others. Often we are prone to understand only our own point of view and not that of others; remember that the world exists for you as well as for others and you will be in the long run helping yourselves if you only give a little passage and space to others who require it. Let me conclude this with a parting message from your University in the same words as I said last year: "Be worthy of your degrees and keep the map of this province and this country before you in your life and career."

CONVOCATION ADDRESS

BY

AMIN-UL-MULK SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.,

Dewan of Mysore

March 2, 1940

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, GRADUATES OF THE YEAR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MY first duty is to express my deep sense of obligation that you should have honoured me with the privilege of addressing the Annual Convocation of this great University.

Sir Brajendranath Seal

On this occasion, I cannot help recalling that our own University of Mysore was associated for nearly a decade with one of your greatest sons, *Rajatantra Pravina* Sir Brajendranath Seal, who made the University of Mysore illustrious by his association with it, and stamped on its activities and ideals the impress of his powerful personality. Not only was he a great and many-sided scholar, but he was also a man of affairs. In the midst of his important work for the University, he found time to preside over a Committee for Constitutional Reforms in the State, and under his guidance the Committee produced a most valuable and original report, which led to the introduction of an important scheme of constitutional reforms in the State in 1924. A Committee that recently went into the same question explicitly took the Seal Committee's Report as the starting point for its own work.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

Nor can I on this occasion fail to recall the name of your great Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who honoured the Mysore University by delivering the first Convocation Address in 1918. It may be briefly said of him that he gave to the practice of law what would have enriched the world of learning. His deep culture and enthu-

siasm for learning found expression in the transformation he effected in the character and activities of the University of Calcutta.

University of Calcuttu

In those days, the University of Calcutta, like other Indian universities, could hardly avoid the reproach that it was a mere examining university and only helped to create an increasing number of degree-holders. Placing before himself the ideal of a university as a corporation of teachers and students, banded together in the pursuit of learning and for the expansion of the bounds of knowledge, Sir Asutosh created the now famous Department of Post-Graduate Studies and gathered within it brilliant scholars not only from Bengal, but from wherever in India his vigilant eye could spot them, for he recognised no boundaries, provincial or other. By a tradition with which his venareted name will ever be associated, this University devotes much attention to the practice of highly specialised scholarship and research. It has, indeed, in its time, been charged with using the thousands as fodder for the few, financing the cherished post-graduate with the fees obtained from the despised but not rejected common under-graduate. I prefer to believe that the many functions of a great university are as nicely and beneficently balanced here as anywhere.

In this profoundly important matter of research, the University of Calcutta has rendered to the whole country a double service—first, by the fruitfulness of the work done, and second, by its firm emphasis on the necessity of such work wherever the name of a university is used. This University has proved at once a zealous and a cautious explorer of the past, and in scientific investigation has most notably extended the range of human knowledge. There is no fear that in research Calcutta will ever rest on its laurels.

Specialisation in Indian Universiti s

Your University now stands forth not only as the largest university in India, but also as a guide in several respects to other universities, when we think of the large volume of its contributions to learning and the high level of post-graduate teaching. The range of its interests is wide, and rightly so because, as Sir Asutosh told us at

Mysore in 1918, "A student on his entrance to the University should have the choice of a rich variety of courses, and all sources of knowldge must be opened to all students if they want them." At the same time there is some need for caution and a great call for co-operation. Although it may be readily accepted that at the stage of the first degree, there should be provision for as many varied courses as possible, since it is difficult to expect that the universities in India should specialise at this stage, I ask in all seriousness, if it is not desirable, nay even necessary, for Indian universities to take stock of their position and organise some distribution among themselves of the courses of higher studies and the lines of research work. The outlay on equipment and staff in the higher and specialised branches of learning is very large, and it is in the national interest that the "PLANT" works to full capacity. The time is come for our universities to take common counsel and distribute courses of a highly specialised and advanced character on a regional basis. This will also effect economy of resources in another way. At present, a large number of our students go abroad and one reason for this is to pursue studies of an advanced character at universities which have obtained a reputation under the guidance of a great teacher in one subject or another.

Specialisation of the kind I have suggested ought to enable us to develop such centres in our own country, and not only keep our students from going abroad but probably even attract students from abroad. Of course, there will always be a movement of students from one centre of learning to another, and I certainly do not desire that our students should desist from going abroad to seek inspiration at the feet of a great master. But the necessity to go to foreign countries for want of facilities at home is not a matter for gratification. Not only should Indian universities themselves specialise but they should join together in supporting a certain number of all-India institutions where instruction of the most advanced kind and facilities for research of the same standard as in foreign universities should be available freely for those who are qualified to take advantage of them.

I think, however, that always, but especially now, the *first* duty of a university is towards its rank and file, the ordinary, average thousands who for a brief period submit themselves to its discipline and accept, with outstretched arms, whatever it is willing to give.

The Under-Graduates

This nation, this democracy, is to be our care. We have always cared much about the distinction of the distinguished, the profundity of the profound, the peculiarity of the peculiar. But now there is one thing which to India is to matter more than these—the ordinariness of the ordinary, the massive, efficacious, sensible dullness of the educated multitude—and through this the same invaluable quality in the uneducated masses of the people. I am afraid that so far as dullness is concerned the young men of Bengal are comparatively ill-endowed. They are rather quick and lively. They need perhaps the rein rather than the goad or the twisted tail. But even here the great bulk of students, and of the graduates, consits of not particularly distinguished people. Their brains, however, are good enough; their hearts are in the right place; and in their physique they are probably better than their academically remarkable friends. It is on them mainly that the immediate and distant future depends. And in Bengal their special quickness and sensitiveness of response provides special opportunity and special danger. They are ready to love and follow what is highest and best, and if this were not convincingly set before them, how tragic might other allegiance prove to be !

The most moving sight in any university is that of the multitudes of its under-graduates making their way hither and thither through the corridors, across the college square, in and out of the libraries and class-rooms. Whither bound to-day ? Whither bound to-morrow ? And a few years hence, whither ? They are so keen, and willing and unspoilt. There was a lovely poem written about them a quarter of a century ago by one of your Scottish professors, of which only one phrase remains in memory,...they stood about in the square, " like stirks in a glen,"—free and beautiful, all power and swiftness, yet for the moment still, uncertain, rather apprehensive, waiting—wonderful creatures, yet pathetic too. I am sure the authorities of the University and the people in the Colleges know well how best to guide and influence these young beings entrusted to them. It needs a large measure of sympathy, patience and wisdom. It needs most the personal touch. It needs free and endless discussion—of communism, for instance, which in its apparent idealism so naturally attracts young minds, and which will so bitterly disappoint them afterwards if now they identify with it all the force of their own idealism and hope.

Ideals and Realities

All of us could wish to rebuild the world on new foundations, but young men differ from the old in their conviction that this can easily and speedily be done, and by the application of particular social and economic doctrines. They do not realise how intractable is life's material. And violence tempts them, because they *feel* violent, and violence is swift, and they do not, like more experienced people, abhor the method of destruction. I wish that all who study here might acquire, as the greatest gift their University can bestow upon them, the faculty and habit of slow, deliberate judgment, based on koowledge conscientiously acquired. I wish that even debating in Societies and Unions might be like that, and that speakers without information or reflection were thought of as bad speakers, however glib or rhetorical or clever at cut-and-thrust they might be.

The Graduates and their Future

To-day's function belongs to the graduates who now begin the great adventure of life. It is rather a critical moment for the University as well as for them an occasion of self-examination. The University can henceforward do no more for them. What has it done ? I believe the best members of the staff of a university always face a Convocation with a sense of guilt. Here is work for the educational reformers as well as stimulus to self-dedication. But now, what of the world into which these young graduates are passing ? Will they have a fair chance of using what is in them ? What is there for these graduates to do ? First, one thinks of the fact that in Bengal, as elsewhere, agriculture is at present the very foundation of the life of the Province. But that foundation has become perilously inadequate. It is clear that there is too much pressure on land in Bengal. A peasant family of five people cannot expect to live much above the level of mere subsistence on a holding of two and a half acres. Apart from a wholesale clearance of people from the land, there is but one remedy, the increase and improvement of the yield by improving the old agricultural methods. The cultivator must be shown what scientific agriculture can do, and must pe persuaded, with infinite sympathy and patience, to adopt the modern ways.

What an opportunity is here for university men ! Among a people whose history goes back so far, the fetters of custom and the inertia of centuries can only be overcome by the ready self-sacrifice, the sustained effort, of those who themselves enjoy the benefits of a liberal education. Such men should, of course, at the same time be specialists. In recent years, efforts have been made in Bengal to spread the knowledge of scientific agriculture, and it is good to know that there are now Agricultural Colleges at Rajshahi and Khulna, and an agricultural colony at Barrackpore. I hope that soon there may be, as already at Dacca, a Faculty of Agriculture in this University.

Between the highly educated and the partially or wholly uneducated a yawning gulf is fixed. It is most important, even in the interests of the universities themselves, that this gulf should be, not *bridged,* which is condescension and danger, but *filled in.* I do hope that in the young men of this University, at least, there is no feeling of superiority, and that they have the sense to realise that the horny-handed son of toil in the field is *as yet* a better man than they are. Not better than they can and will be when they have knocked about a bit and had a taste of trouble and responsibility, but definitely *now* the better man. So they must look up to him, not down. If the university man trained in agriculture is going to patronise the peasants he had better have stayed in his laboratory. Indeed the very idea in his studying in a *university* is to *liberalise* him, to give him that sympathetic common sense that can recognise genuine human values. True education makes one in equal balance, intelligent and humble.

Rural Service

I have spoken of contacts relating to agriculture. There is another kind of service in respect of which in Mysore we have made a very small but rather hopeful beginning, that of rural service by students and graduates in a more general sense. It has sometimes been suggested by people who are desperately wrestling with the unemployment problem that every graduate should, by a regular State scheme, spend in a village a period (perhaps of two years) after his graduation,—to be the general servant of the village in all wisdom and cleanliness. Unworkable, remote from reality such an idea may be ; but is there not something in it ? All that has been done in Mysore is, in the first place, that students, while still in college, take particular villages

under their care and, in the second place, a larger and more systematic plan, a centre on " settlement " lines for the training of university men in rural service has been started. Wider development, there or anywhere, will depend partly on the direct interest shown by governments and their substantial financial support, but mainly on the driving enthusiasm of those of our young men who really care what sort of life is led by their fellow-countrymen in the villages. I profoundly hope that this enthusiasm may nowhere be lacking, that members of the Indian universities, in ever-increasing numbers, will devote themselves to the social and economic problems of the countryside, and carefully fit themselves to take the lead in the movement for the uplift of the rural people. Let no one forget that it is these rustics who ultimately pay for the university education of the lucky few. Such service as students or graduates can give is the honest repayment of debt,—yet far beyond that, if inspired by fellow-feeling and the noble delight in service.

The Problem of Unemployment

All these does little enough to solve the problem of unemployment. I do not see any possible solution except a deliberate policy of industrial expansion in our country. It is clear that this has been realised by the Government of India, who have declared that India is entitled to receive the utmost help that the Government can give in order that she may take her place as a leading manufacturing country. There is absolutely nothing to prevent the rapid attainment of this status, if governments and people are ready to work with each other and are genuinely determined upon the utilisation of the vast resources of the country in power, raw materials and technical ability. Surely India's intelligence and India's enterprise are adequate to this task, the fulfilment of which means the redemption of India from her grave obsession of poverty. Redemption, too, from every sort of domination. No country that rejoices in the power of full industrial prosperity can ever be kept down or looked down upon.

India's Economic Future

India has a great economic future. Her resources entitle her to first rank leadership in this field. But in order to fulfil that destiny, those who have money must be prepared to disinter it and show some

measure of confidence in each other; and on the other hand, the educated sons and daughters of India must cease to despise and shrink from the work that one does with one's hands. Excellent indeed is the work of the brain, in lofty thought or valuable invention, but the work of one's hands occupies no less important and dignified a place in national service. To those so minded, and particularly to those who have had such industrial and commercial training as all universities ought to provide, the development of industry and trade in India will give most satisfying employment. The war, no doubt will create special demands, which will have an immediate and delusive effect on unemployment: this ill-wind always drives away the spectre for a time. But we must be planning now for the difficult times afterwards, and both the industrial and the academic world have huge responsibilities to the country in this connection.

National Defence

There is one field of employment that to my mind has not been adequately explored by the universities. However much we may deplore wars and the growth of armaments, I presume we may take it that unless and until there is a change of heart, to use the well-worn cliché, this evil incidental to social organisation will continue. India will be compelled to think of her national defence in more imperative terms than has been the case hitherto when we have complacently taken it for granted that the British soldier and the British sailor will spare us all anxiety on the score of defence. Indianisation of the army and the growth of an Indian navy cannot be delayed any longer with safety. India must also develop the new arm of warfare in the air. India has ample resources, too, for the production of munitions and armaments. I look forward to a large employment of university men in the great war industries and also in the army, the navy and the air force. Among the indirect beneficial effects of the present war will probably be found the greater readiness to admit Indians to commissioned ranks in the army and a greater utilisation of India's resources for the production of war materials. I cannot help thinking that with a wiser British policy in India, our resources (industrial and belligerent) might by this time have been so developed, and would have been offered so gladly in alliance, that Britain thus supported would have been far more dreaded by her enemies.

I should be very unhappy if any one assumed that I look upon war and hatred between nations as an inevitable element in the life of nations. I too dream dreams and see visions, and I readily join hands with those who seek to create a new world order when we shall be able to look upon war and preparations for war as evil features of an extinct order, and devote all our energies to the pursuit of the ultimate values in life. Let us by all means see visions but with our feet on the ground.

Exhortation to Graduates

I have been thinking so much of the graduates all the time (sometimes exhorting them also) that the usual final exhortation might well be left out. I will not omit it, however, because, in wishing you all the greatest happiness, I cannot but emphasise again that idea which I always think of as the key to happiness for all men,—that old, ever-repeated, ever-venerated, ever-unheeded idea of tolerance and unity. Can a truth be trite when so few are willing to obey it? Tolerance and unity then, this is my final theme.

Have you ever paused to consider that the man who speaks to you in the college quadrangle, or the man who is now sitting next to you in the Convocation is to himself, just as you are to yourself, the centre of life, the mirror of the world? He thinks of himself as "I" just as you do; and to him you are a mere "he" and of very little importance. This seems a very simple elementary matter, but can you realise, do you really understand, that you are just a little fragment, a mere third-personal creature, amidst thousands of first-persons? Blessed is the man, and already on the high road of intellectual and moral mastery, who has made the blinding discovery that he is one among many, that others are as good and wise, and have exactly the same right as himself to opinions, judgments, preferences and courses of action.

Here is the beginning of tolerance, if we can so view individuals, and we must go on and regard in this way religious differences also, and social differences and political differences. Your opponents are not thereby fools or villains. They are not dishonest because they disagree with you. "We think," said that cynic philosopher, Rochefoucauld, "very few people sensible except those who are of our opinion." Do try to believe that those who hold a different political creed hold it sincerely, seek equally with

yourself the welfare of province or country, and are even, just like you, prepared for sacrifice. Oh, for a draught to sweeten our imaginations! Happy and serviceable is the man who can see another's point of view. It is division and distrust that weakens India and so many good causes in India, and everybody knows that this province of Bengal is itself rent with faction. Here is something worthy of your mettle, graduates. You, who have lived happily together in college, go forth now, armed with generosity and decency, and destroy the devil of disunion.

This is the kind of happiness I wish you, this triumphant, inalienable happiness that comes from spreading good and overmastering evil. Good health and good fortune, too, may these be yours,—but with or without them, the abiding blessedness of service.

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THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

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VI

REFERENCES TO CONTEMPORARY EVENTS AND PERSONS BY SHAKESPEARE

REFERENCES to contemporary events and persons surely disclose the trend of the poet's mind since those indicate unmistakably which way the wind blows, in whose words the poet's heart dances. These references, therefore, have positive intrinsic value so far as the biography of the poet is concerned. When we have no sure biographical data of our poet we have naturally to speculate upon his writings in search of a clue, however small it may be, to build up a so-called biography of our poet. The net result of the attempt will be that we shall have to draw up a *model* life of Shakespeare, no point in which will ever meet the sanction of two critics, and this has actually been the case. The pedigree of Shakespeare had not been traditional nor had the relics of his boyhood been in any way inspiring and it can be rightly stated that the greatest poet of the English tongue sprang up from a very obscure origin, and hence, an authentic biography of Shakespeare cannot legitimately be claimed from his contemporaries.

It is, therefore, worth-while to search after Shakespeare's mention of contemporary events and persons or of affairs which were the current topics of his time. Unfortunately we find Shakespeare too shy to refer to them and there are hardly thirty-seven references in all, in his thirty-seven plays. But if we look closely to his creations we can easily realise that there are, in his plays, ' unmistakable signs of his reference to an identifiable event.'

The first direct reference to a contemporary event which has never been called in question by critics is the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Ireland in March, 1599. It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that Essex was a friend to the Earl of Southampton, the patron of our poet. Thus we find the following lines in the chorus of *Henry V*:

" The Mayor and all his brethren in best sort,
Like to the senators of th'antique Rome,
With the plebeians swarming at their heels,
Go forth and fetch their conquering Cæsar in:
As, by a lower but by loving likelihood,
Were now the general of our gracious empress,
As in good time he may—from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit
To welcome him!" [1]

' The general of our gracious empress ' whom Southampton also accompanied in the Irish expedition proved a hopeless failure and the spectacular demonstration anticipated by the friendly poet never materialised. Whatever the actual result of the expedition might have been, we have to scrutinise here the above lines to explain his attitude towards contemporary allusions which he is so shy to mention directly. Two alternative questions naturally rise, namely, do these lines sufficiently disclose Shakespeare's political bias or were these lines written purely to pay homage to a friend whose name had been a household topic as a result of his triumphant seizure of Cadiz ? The present writer would like to support the latter view for obvious reasons. This cannot represent Shakespeare's political attitude because he was not the man, as we find him from his writings, to be easily drifted by political crests and troughs. Is it not significant that Shakespeare, who experienced the thrill of the invasion of Spanish Armada at the

[1] *Chorus* before Act V, Sc. 1.

most romantic age of 24 never refers to it in any of his plays ? How can we assert then that the Irish expedition of Essex was a rather stronger stimulus to our poet than the fighting of the Armada unless it be for the fact that the leaders of the expedition were but his friends ?

Another notable instance is furnished by *Hamlet* which very clearly refers, in passages, to the ' war of the theatres ' in 1600-01. It originated with the publication of Jonson's *Poetaster* where some passages of Shakespeare's *Henry V* were bitterly ridiculed. A contemporary writer records that Shakespeare gave Jonson a purge but there has been found no corroborative evidence of this. Dekker and Marston, in their *Satiriomastix*, gave a reply to Ben Jonson. It is difficult, at this far distant age, to determine what result, good or bad, came out of this famous controversy, except the fascinating phrase, namely, ' war of the theatres.' In course of the war Ben Jonson records thus:

> " Only, amongst them, I am sorry for
> Some better natures by the rest drawn in
> To turn in that vile line."

It has been claimed that this ' better nature ' of Jonson is none other than Shakespeare, but there is absolutely no record to show Shakespeare's active participation in the war. In *Hamlet* we have:

Hamlet: What players are they ?

Rosencrantz: Even those you were wont to take delight in, the tragedians of the city.

Hamlet: How chances it they travel ? Their residence both in reputation and profit was better both ways.

Rosencrantz: I think their inhibition comes by the means of the late innovation.

Hamlet: Do they hold the same estimation they did when I was in the city ? Are they so followed ?

Rosencrantz: No indeed, they are not.

Hamlet: How comes it ? Do they grow rusty ?

Rosencrantz: Nay, their endeavour keeps in the wonted pace ; but there is sir an aery of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question ; and are most tyrannically clapp'd for't: these are now the fashion, and so berattle the common Stages (so they call them) that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose-quills, and dare scarce come thither.

Hamlet: What, are they children? Who maintains 'em? How are they escoted? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing? Will they not say afterwards if they should grow themselves to common Players (as it is most like if their means are no better) their writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own succession?

Rosencrantz: Faith there has been much to do on both sides: and the nation holds it no sin, to tarre them on to controversy. There was for a while no money bid for argument, unless the Poet and the Player went to cuffs in the question.

Hamlet: Is't possible?

Rosencrantz: O there has been much throwing about of brains.

Hamlet: Do the boys carry it away?

Rosencrantz: Ay that they do my Lord, Hercules and his load too.

In the *Twelfth Night* Shakespeare speaks of 'the new map with the augmentation of the Indies.' [1] It has been claimed that this directly refers to a map actually produced some time between 1598 and 1600, and it has been tentatively suggested that the map referred to is one in the complete edition of *Hakluyt's Voyages* (1599-1600).[2] Similarly in *Romeo and Juliet* we find reference to the great earthquake, perhaps of 1580, in the words of the old nurse, *e.g.*. 'Tis since the earthquake now eleven years.'

One more striking example of Shakespeare's reference to a contemporary event is supplied by the *Tempest* (written some time about 1610-11) which opens with the scene of a shipwreck. It has been claimed that Shakespeare was rather much occupied with the actual shipwreck that befell the fleet under the command of Sir George Sommers in 1609. The admiral-vessel "Sea-Venture" was separated from the rest of the fleet and was driven to the Bermuda Coast otherwise called the Isle of Devil. "Still vexed Bermoothes" or "Have we devils here" and other such phrases bespeak of the connection.

We now propose to read *Macbeth* in the light of Shakespeare's attitude towards contemporary events. In a previous issue [3] we have

[1] Act III, Sc. 2.

[2] Sir E. K. Chambers says that the new map was probably the 'Hydrographical Description' prepared about 1598-99 by Emerie Molyneux. Examples are sometimes bound up with Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1598-1600).—*Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 406.

[3] *The Calcutta Review*, February, 1940, p. 105.

quoted a contemporary poet to show that Shakespeare shed no sable tear to mourn the loss of the queen whom he eulogised ' as the fair Vestal throned by the West ' and spoke of her ' maiden meditation fancy free ' at least on a particular occasion when *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was played at some noble man's house where the queen was expected to be present. When James I ascended the throne the whole of the literary world burst forth with panegyrics to accord him a very hearty welcome, only Shakespeare observing rigid silence for he preferred not to offer hymns to the rising sun as shamelessly as his brother poets did. In fact the rival poets vied with each other. It must be realised here that Shakespeare was very particular in this respect and never indulged in fulsome eulogy to anybody save on two occasions, namely, the dedications of *Venus and Adonis* and the *Rape of Lucrece*. In fact it was just the opening of his career when Shakespeare composed these few lines of adulatory verse and as soon as he realised his ends of attaining patronage and fame he quite guarded himself against further repetition of these. By his frugal habits and thrifty ways of living he was assured of a competence at a very early period of his life and he disdained to invoke the favours of a noble patron. Nevertheless, there is exception so to say. There are, indeed, some topical hints to James I in *Macbeth* in the shape of assigning the King a direct descent from Banquo. The king's evil cured by the Royal touch [1] is significantly introduced in the play evidently to please the king who as the author of treatise of demonology would further appreciate Shakespeare's introduction of witches with their strange prophesies regarding the end of the usurper Macbeth and Banquo's descent on the English throne. Again the words of the Porter [2]:

" Knock, Knock ! who's there, in the other devil's name ? Faith, here's an equivocator, that could swear in both the scales against

[1] Malone says that " this tragedy contains an allusion to the union of the three kingdoms England, Scotland, and Ireland under one Sovereign and also the cure of the king's evil by the royal touch. A ritual for the healing of that distemper was established early in this reign ; but in what year that pretended power was assumed by King James I is uncertain.—*Life of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, pp. 418-19.

[2] There is evident divergence of opinion regarding the authenticity of the Porter scene in *Macbeth*. A host of critics headed by Coleridge doubted the whole of the Porter scene as not coming from the pen of Shakespeare. Chambers refuses to accept the interpolation view. Speaking of the Porter's speech, Chambers says : " The introduction of this speech cannot be said to be unlike Shakespeare, or alien to his usual methods."—*Macbeth* (Warwick edition), p. 167

either scale ; who committed treason enough for God's sake, yet could not equivocate to heaven : O, come in equivocator."

It has been claimed that by the word ' equivocator ' Shakespeare referred to the Jesuit doctrine of equivocation which had been quite familiar since the trial of Southwell towards the closing years of the Queen's reign, and may refer directly to the trial of Henry Garnet for the famous Gunpowder Plot in 1606.

The tradition runs that all these references, direct and indirect, so much pleased the king that he wrote an autographed letter to Shakespeare—one of his men. The following quotation is taken from Oldys : ' I have observed in my Fuller and repeat it here that K. James I honoured Shakespeare with an Epistolary correspondence and I think Sir W. Davenant had either seen or was possessed of his Maties Letter to him. I have read it in Print and yet all our late Pretenders to the Exaltation of Shakespeare's Memory are quite silent of this particular. 'Tis very much if Sr William had them yt he did not publish them.' Sir E. K. Chambers [1] from whom we reproduce the above puts this into *The Shakespeare Mythos*. Even after strenuous efforts this letter could not be found out. Malone, however, finds no reason to disbelieve it and adduces the following argument for his so doing. " We have been told, upon authority of which there is no reason to doubt, that he (James) wrote a letter to Shakespeare with his own hand ; the story is told in the advertisement to Lintot's edition of Shakespeare's poems, no date, but printed in 1710. The letter is there said to have been lost, but formerly to have been in the possession of Sir William Davenant, ' as a credible person now living can testify.' The person thus described, we learn from Mr. Oldy's MS. Addition to Fullers Worthies, was Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who was told it by Davenant himself."[2] Let the readers judge, then, for what it is worth!

In *Measure for Measure* Shakespeare went a step further to refer to a particular idiosyncrasy of James as to his dislike of the mobs.[3]

The trial scene in *Merchant of Venice* has been claimed by several critics, notably by Sir Sidney Lee, to represent the trial of Lopez, a Jew, practising medicine in the city of London. Lopez was tried for treason before a special commission in the Guildhall,

[1] *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 281.
[2] Boswell's edition of Malone's *The Life of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 481.
[3] Act I, Sc. 1 and Act II, Sc. 4.

and the public took keen interest in it. For some time the talk of trial was in every lip and there is no wonder that Shakespeare would adopt a parallel scene to captivate the imagination of the English audience. George Symonds has ridiculed this theory in his humorous way, but if we ever accept this theory, it will show another instance of Shakespeare's reference to contemporary events.

King Lear also gives us some indication as to Shakespeare's way of referring to a contemporary event. James I, King of Scotland, succeeded Queen Elizabeth in 1603 and in October of the following year he was proclaimed King of Great Britain resulting in the formal union of England and Scotland. In his characteristic way Shakespeare changed the following lines of Thomas Nashe (1596)

"—Fy, fa fum,
I smell the blood of an *English man.*"

into

"His words was still,—fye, foh, fum,
I smell the blood of a British man."

When it is impossible for us to pick up a sufficient number of direct references to contemporary events let us make a simpler and honest attempt to see his plays against a proper background. At the very outset the present writer would utter a word of caution that the principle should not be carried too far lest some puzzling hypotheses spring up and the most objective picture would ultimately appear as the most subjective canvass.

The years between the publication of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (*c.* 1587) and *Hamlet* (1603) were remarkable in English life for the unusual thrill they offered. The Spanish Armada which invaded England was defeated in 1588. This discomfiture of the Spanish monarch—the then ruling power of practically the whole of Europe—served as a stimulus to the nation and patriotic feeling ran high through everyman's breast. For the next few years the Spanish encounters continued and English people sent several expeditions to the continent to help their allies such as Don Antonio in Portugal and Henry of Navarre.

In 1591 Earl of Essex reached Normandy and rendered valuable aid to Henry in the siege of Rowen which was finally abandoned in the spring of 1592. In this period Essex was indeed a very popular

figure in England and we must not forget that it is at this period the English stage was presenting on its boards the ' famous talbot scene.'

The year 1596 was full of panic and excitement and saw the capture of Cadiz. At any rate these years were very much trying in the history of the nation and Shakespeare certainly realised his due share of contribution and set down a number of sublime patriotic speeches in his writings:

" This England never did nor never shall
Lie at the proud foot of a Conqurer."

In the days of Queen Elizabeth there was no newspaper or periodical and the general custom was to collect news from mouth. Elizabethan people had, therefore, to depend much on sermons, stages, taverns and the like where there were comparatively large assemblages. Gossips and rumours were as a rule magnified into big proportions and passed from mouth to mouth resulting in some cases in public disturbances. The exact nature of the state of things can be well understood from a number of private correspondences by John Chamberlain who gives the following lines in a letter dated August 9, 1599:

" Upon Monday, toward evening, came news (yet false) that the Spaniards were landed in the Isle of Wight, which bred such a fear and consternation in this town as I would little have looked for, with such a cry of women chaining of streets, and shutting of the gates, as though the enemy had been at Black wall."

In the disguise of Rumour, painted full of tongues, Shakespeare aptly declares

" Rumour is a pipe
Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures,
And of so easy and so plain a stop
That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
The still discordant wavering multitude,
Can play upon it."

What a faithful picture of the spread of rumours is given by Shakespeare in *King John* [1] where Hubert graphically describes thus:

" I saw a smith stand with his hammer, thus,
The whilst his iron did on the anvil cool,

[1] *King John*, IV, 2.

With open mouth swallowing a tailor's news ;
Who, with his shears and measures in his hand,
Standing on slippers,—which his nimble haste
Had falsely thrust upon contrary feet,—
Told of a many thousand warlike French,
That were embattailed and rank'd in Kent.
Another lean unwashed artificer
Cuts off his tale and talks of Arthur's death."

It was not against the custom of the day to bring forth the characters of living personalities on board the stage. We find a clear reference to this custom in the following lines of Chamberlain:

"The tragedy of *Gowry*, with all the action and actors, hath been twice represented by the king's players, with exceeding concourse of all sorts of people. But whether the matter or manner be not well handled, or that it be thought unfit that Princes should be played on the stage in their life-time, I hear that some great councillors are much displeased with it, and so 'tis thought shall be forbidden."[1]

Nevertheless the authors of such plays had often to face catastrophies and we have got a number of evidences ready at hand. Jonson, Chapman and Marston in their joint production *Eastward Hoe* openly carricatured King James for his creating the prodigious number of knighthoods and as a result of this offence amounting to treason they were thrown into the prison and very luckily escaped mutilation. *The Conspiracy of Biron*, of which Chapman was the sole author, furnishes one more example. In it Chapman did not hesitate to bring Henry of Navarre, the then reigning monarch of France, with his queen and mistress over the board. Another very notable example, though at a comparatively later date, *viz.*, 1624, is Middleton's *Game of Chess*, 'the play which brought Middleton into prison and earned for the actors a sum far beyond parallel as to have seemed incredible.' This play directly referred to the Spanish officials and was popularly known as the play of Gondomar, who was the Spanish ambassador at England and took a very prominent part in the proposed Spanish marriage of Charles. From the very opening this play drew a packed house and on the ninth day a vehement

[1] Perhaps due to this James (*c.* 1604) issued a commandment and restraint against the representation of any modern Christian kings in those stage-plays.—Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage* Vol. I, p. 327.

protest came from Gondomar. Its representation was prohibited, and the actors as also the author were all punished.

Shakespeare also followed the fashion at least so far as the King of Navarre was concerned. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, one of Shakespeare's earliest dramas, we find a theme drawn from French chronicle, the names of the characters being drawn from contemporary and popular personages like Henry of Navarre and his famous lieutenants Biron, Longueville and Dumaine.

Perhaps "Shakespeare still had Henry of Navarre in his mind for the allusion in Act III, Scene 2 to France 'armed and reverted making war against her heir,' refers to the struggle between the Hugenot King, heir to Henry III, and the Roman Catholic League, which continued from 1589-1594." [1]

Before concluding this chapter we should take up for consideration Shakespeare's *Richard II* which deserves special mention for reasons more than one. Queen Elizabeth compared herself with Richard II and it is stated that on one occasion when the queen came across the records of Richard II in the course of her inspecting those at the Tower, she could not help exclaiming, 'I am Richard II.' Indeed, very deep was the impression of the queen regarding the striking parallelism between herself and the unfortunate Richard II, so far as state policies were concerned, and she really dreaded that an unhappy termination of Her Majesty's career may also befall her as it befell Richard II. This view of queen's apprehension will gain much support from the following evidence: An Elizabethan historian, Sir John Hayward who wrote *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of Henrie IIII, extending to the end of the first yeare of his raigne* and dedicated it to the Earl of Essex, one of the most popular figures of the then London, criticised the queens policy in the said book, at least the queen thought so, and was imprisoned for his so venturing. Shakespeare in *Richard II* wrote the deposition scene of the unfortunate monarch which in all probability could not be published in the earlier quartos but was certainly represented on the stage. In no case could the Queen's agents allow this for publication ! [2]

1 Boas, *Shakespeare and his Predecessors*, p. 168.

2 .....it seems more probable that it (deposition scene) was written with the rest (whole text of *Richard II*), and suppressed in the printed copy of 1597, from the fear of offending Elizabeth, against whom the Pope had published a bull in the preceding year, exhorting her subjects to take up arms against her.—Malone (1821 Edition), *Life of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 326.

The supporters of the famous Essex rising of 1601 calculated to secure the person of the queen, realised to the full this acute parallelism and with a view to shaping mass opinion in the city caused it to be played before the London citizens on the day previous to the outbreak of the insurrection. The Lord Chamberlain's men played, so to say, in the hands of the followers of the Earl of Essex although the former tried to avoid the performance of so old and obscure a piece from pecuniary points of view. Sir Gilly Meyrick, a stalwart of Essex's party paid an earnest money of $40 to the actors to compensate any loss that the company might incur by the performance and *Richard II* was actually played. There exists a school of critics which hold that the book played was not Shakespeare's but the present writer is rather slow to accept this view. Shakespeare's *Richard II* was published in quarto edition as early as 1597, and was certainly enacted before that day. It was played by the Lord Chamberlain's of which Shakespeare was a prominent shareholder. Why then should these men fall upon a piece in preference to that Shakespeare ? Any way, following the performance of *Richard II* there was the rising next day but it failed ultimately, resulting in the arrest of the Earls of Essex and Southampton. There was formal trial of Essex on the charge of high treason and both Essex and Southampton were thrown into the Tower where Essex ultimately gave his head.[1] Southampton, however, escaped with his head and was subsequently set free by the next succeeding monarch King James I.

It is very difficult to explain why it is so that the author of *Richard II*, a friend to Essex and Southampton and actor-cosharer of the company was never summoned before the court of justice either as an accused or as a witness. Augustine Phillips, the manager of the Company, was produced before the Star Chamber as witness but Shakespeare was not touched in any way. This is, indeed, a very important problem in the life of our poet and the present writer likes to scrutinise, in brief, the existing views in this respect. The first alternative view was that the piece played on the day before the insurrection was not from Shakespeare's pen, but from the pen of some now-forgotton author ! This would apparently satisfy our

[1] Essex's defence was that he had no evil motive of securing the person of the queen and whatever he did, he did in self-defence or else he ' would not have gone forth with so small a force and so slightly armed.' To this Bacon replied, " This was cunningly done of you, who placed all your hope in the citizen's arms expecting them to arm both yourself and your party and to take arms in your behalf imitating herein the Duke of Guise."—Speeding and Heath, *Lord Bacon's Woks*, Vol. VI, p. 363.

difficulties but not clearly enough. By accepting this view we simply pretend to solve the difficulty by pushing, so to say, the issue into a sea of conjectures. How can we guarantee that there was a deposition scene in the said play ? It is amply clear that without a deposition scene the play could not serve the purpose of Essex. In fact the majority of critics, *e.g.*, Malone, Boas, Lee and Chambers, are of opinion that the play was Shakespeare's. The opposite school argues that Shakespeare rather discouraged deposition as is given in the deposition scene of *Richard II*. How then can we assert that the performance of this piece was best suited to Essex's design? This query at once puts us into a fire, but we must not forget that to the mind of an illiterate and uncritical audience the ulterior intention of a piece seldom reflects and the plot-hunting audience would rest satisfied to see what actually happened. Richard was deposed, and deposed in such and such a manner—under such and such circumstances—that's all that interested the Elizabethan audience ; no matter whether Shakespeare encouraged or discouraged the deposition.

Now as soon as we accepted the view that it was Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the question arises as to how Shakespeare escaped handling of the Star Chamber. It would be extremely childish to attempt any convincing answer to this question with the scanty materials we have at our disposal. The myth that Shakespeare was much favoured by 'Eliza' and thus escaped handling of the Star Chamber cannot be given any consideration, for history tells us that the queen was proverbially whimsical in respect of her favours. The young gallant, the Earl of Essex who was once one of the greatest favourites of the queen, had to lay his head on the scaffold and why should we expect constancy of the queen's favours in case of Shakespeare. We have no diary of Shakespeare nor any convincing record and we cannot say whether Shakespeare had any direct responsibility in the performance save as the author of the piece. It may quite well be that Shakespeare was not present at the actual performance of the play on March 6, 1601, and was hence taken no notice of by the court of justice. This, the present writer well understands, is a conjecture but with materials at the hands of the modern critics we cannot proceed any further without ever indulging in conjectures guarding, of course, oneself that those do not appear far-fetched.

(*To be continued*)

PROGRESS OF PROHIBITION IN "CONGRESS" INDIA*

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THE people of India have been known for centuries for their abstemious habits. Indulgence in alcoholic beverages and narcotics has always been confined to comparatively small numbers. Unlike western countries, the conditions in India are favourable for the imposition of prohibition through legislation because religion, social sentiments and traditions are in its favour.

As an Indian Christian, I feel proud when I remember that the question of compulsory prohibition was first taken up by the Indian Christian community of Bengal at the instance of our revered leader the late Mr. Kali Churn Banurji in 1902. Gokhale suggested it in 1912. The same year the Indian National Congress started its campaign in favour of prohibition for the first time. In 1925, 30,000 women, majority of whom were Indians, submitted a memorial to the then Viceroy demanding the introduction of prohibition for safeguarding the interests of women and children. The same year, a solid non-official *bloc* carried in the Legislative Assembly in the face of strong official opposition a resolution for introducing total prohibition. The memorial submitted by the women as well as the resolution which had behind it the weight of Indian public opinion as voiced by its representatives were ignored by the British Government. In 1928, when the All Parties' Convention drafted a constitution for India, it made prohibition one of its fundamental articles.

India waited patiently for the attainment of political power to deal in her own way with this important problem which affects the well-being of her nationals. As soon as provincial autonomy was secured and Congress took up the work of administration in a majority of the provinces, Mahatma Gandhi gave a much-needed lead in his epoch-making article entitled "The Great Act." This appeared in his small

* Address delivered at the Calcutta Temperance Association, Thoburn Methodist Church, Calcutta with Miss K. M. Kinzly in the chair.

but very influential periodical "The Harijan" on the 28th August, 1937. In this, he asked the Congress governments "to bring about total prohibition within three years." It may be that the Congress governments, if they had continued to be in power, would have been compelled to lengthen the period to five years but there is not the slightest doubt that every Congress government made honest and strenuous efforts to implement this programme within the time allotted for the purpose by Mahatma Gandhi.

When I was in Madras early in January, 1939, I had an interview with Sj. Rajagopalachariar. In the course of my conversation with him, I was informed that all the Congress governments including his Government were determined to introduce prohibition in the provinces controlled by them before they laid down the reins of office. The impression I gathered from my talk with him was that if the Congress ministry could carry through this part of the Congress programme, they would be content to be judged by their achievement in this one direction.

I contend that the adoption of the programme of prohibition conferred a dignity and a prestige on the Indian National Congress which the carrying through of no other single measure could have done. I admit there are many other directions in which the Congress could have improved the lot of the masses and further that these would have been introduced sooner or later. These, however, would have taken time, whereas the immediate introduction of prohibition carried along with it the implication that the Congress had identified itself with the interests of the masses and also that it is really concerned about their welfare.

Reasons for the Introduction of Prohibition

Statistics available from official sources will prove that, in 1920, the total revenue from stimulants and narcotics was 60 million rupees, that eight years later, in 1928, it rose to 235 million rupees and six years after that, that is in 1934 to 1,000 million rupees. In other words, in 15 years, the revenue from excise increased nearly 17 times. The same year that India paid 1,000 million rupees as revenue for drink and drugs, she paid Government 370 million as land revenue and 170 million as income-tax while she spent 130 million on education. Can any responsible man deny that if India is prevented from spending this

enormous sum which most certainly was higher in 1939 than in 1934, her nationals will be in a position to liberally finance not only education but also agriculture, industry, public health, irrigation, and what not ?

And who are the people who have been contributing to the excise revenues ? We know that there are sects, castes and groups who are total abstainers. We know also that the habit of drinking and using narcotics is regarded with disfavour if not with positive dislike by educated people of every social stratum. India is a land where the number of teetotallers is very large. It therefore follows that this sum is spent by only a fraction of the 353 million population of India. It is also equally true that the addicts consist almost wholly of the extremely poor, that is to say, people who can least afford any kind of extravagance. Expenditure of this type in their case leads to semi-starvation or nakedness or both. These are some of the reasons which impelled the Congress governments to introduce prohibition.

PROHIBITION IN THE "CONGRESS" PROVINCES

Realising the supreme importance of making a strenuous effort to root out the drink and drug evil from our motherland and impelled by a truly noble spirit of idealism, Congress governments introduced prohibition in the different provinces. The Congress campaign for the eradication of this evil proceeded with an ever-increasing tempo. The "dry" area was steadily extended. I propose to review, province by province, the way in which this programme was implemented. But before doing so, let me state that, according to the communiqués issued by the different governments, their efforts were being crowned with supreme success.

Orissa.—Prohibition was started in Balasore district and the first step was taken, by placing the sale of opium under state control with effect from October, 1938. Those who cannot do without opium had to undergo medical examination by doctors appointed for the purpose by the Orissa Government. No one was supplied with opium unless his name had been registered as *an opium addict.* All opium shops situated in the interior of the district were abolished with effect from the 1st April, 1939. At present, there are only 14 shops at the borders of the district. Other reforms consisted of prohibition of sale of intoxicants after sunset, prevention of all sale of toddy in booths and sale of

toddy or country liquor on days of festivities when huge amounts used to be consumed. According to the Orissa Congress Government, the loss of excise revenue due to these measures was likely to be about Rs. 9½ lakhs.

Central Provinces.—In 1934-35, about 13½ per cent. of the total revenue of this province was contributed by the excise department. This is a poor province and the introduction of prohibition in the absence of alternative sources of revenue unmistakably demonstrated the courage of the Congress Ministry as well as their ardent desire to benefit the masses. Prohibition was introduced in the whole of the three districts of Saugor, Akola and Wardha. One sub-division of Hoshangabad district and three industrial towns were also made "dry." At present the "dry" area comprises about $\frac{1}{6}$ of the total area of the province or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the non-aboriginal territory. The estimate of the Central Provinces Congress Government was that the introduction of prohibition in these areas would entail a loss of Rs. 8½ lakhs.

Assam.—In Assam the revenue from excise consists of about 15 per cent. of the total provincial revenues. A scheme for the total prohibition of opium in two years was adopted by the Congress Coalition Government and was being gradually given effect to. The first start was made in the Sibsagar sub-division. It is understood that this would entail a loss of about Rs. 14 lakhs.

Bihar.—The district of Saran which is about 2,709 square miles in area with a population of about 2½ million went "dry" with effect from the 1st April, 1938. Government also made strenuous efforts to discourage the consumption of liquor by a reduction in the number of shops, curtailing the hours of sale, and other restrictive measures. In 1939, prohibition was extended to parts of the districts of Ranchi and Hazaribagh and also to the Hajipur sub-division. It is understood that the total reduction in revenue will amount to 10 lakhs. There is an unofficial report that the Congress Government of Bihar was considering the question of the extension of prohibition to the Dhanbad subdivision just before its resignation.

United Provinces.—As soon as the U. P. Congress Government came into power, prohibition was introduced in two districts, *viz.*, Etah and Mainpuri, the approximate area of which is 3,300 square miles. In 1939, prohibition was extended to four more districts—Budaun, Farrukhabad, Bijnor and Jaunpur. In the remaining districts, it was proposed to reduce the number of shops by 20 per cent. Prohibi-

tion and the adoption of various other measures for diminishing the consumption of stimulants and narcotics entailed a loss of 37 lakhs.

North-West Frontier Province.—The Congress Government of the North-West Frontier Province decided to introduce total prohibition in the district of Dera Ismail Khan with effect from 1939. No official information is available as to what extent the revenues would have been sacrificed by this step.

Bombay.—In 1934-35, when Sind was still a part of the Bombay Presidency, 24 per cent. of the total revenue was derived from excise. According to one estimate, the cost of introducing complete prohibition in what is now the Bombay Presidency would be approximately 6 crores. Including the area where prohibition was in operation previously, the following places went "dry" with effect from the August 1st, 1939: Ahmedabad city, North and South Daskroi Taluks, the Broach subdivision of the district of the same name, Panchmahal, some taluks of Ahmednagar and North Kanara district. Prohibition was also extended to the whole of the Bombay city and suburbs. It is understood that the loss in excise revenue would amount to not less than 25 lakhs. Mr. M. K. Munshi, Home Minister, Congress Government of Bombay, speaking at Ahmedabad on the 6th April, 1939, stated that after the introduction of prohibition in his province, his Government had lost directly and indirectly 120 lakhs but the merchants had gained 320 lakhs by the increased purchasing power of those addicted to drink.

Madras.—This province was the first to introduce prohibition in India. Salem went "dry" from October, 1937, and Cuddapah and Chittor from October, 1938. The district of North Arcot would have gone "dry" with effect from the 1st October, 1939, if the Congress had stayed in office. Under these circumstances, prohibition would have been in operation in an area measuring about 24,000 square miles. This is about $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total area of the province. It has been estimated that the loss due to the introduction of prohibition in these four districts would amount to 66 lakhs.

Idealism in Prohibition

An outstanding feature of prohibition in "Congress" provinces was that there the addicts were not treated as sinners and social outcasts. The members of the different cabinets, who launched the campaign

against drink and drugs were aware that a sinner is more to be pitied than to be annoyed with. They had imbibed the great lesson of Christ who reformed the sinner by loving him and of Chaitanya who embraced *Jagai* and *Madhai* thus converting them into two most sincere devotees. "Hate sin but not the sinner"—these reformers appreciated the full implication of this saying. Madras, it is well-known, is notorious for its rampant untouchability and one of the causes of the outstanding success of prohibition in Madras is that the prohibitionists there did not treat the addicts who are mostly Harijans as untouchables. This perhaps is the one single thing which has appealed to the addicts. I do not think the addicts would have responded to mere platform lectures. No lasting social reform can be effected by speeches and newspaper articles for they would be slighted as the luxurious benevolence of rich and leisurely people. The men and women whom we seek to reform must be shown how much we are ready to feel and act for them and what sacrifices we are prepared to make for their sake.

Secondly, the Congress prohibitionists were fully aware of the limitations of human nature. They appreciated the difficulty of suddenly giving up the habit of drinking and drug taking. They were also aware that an abrupt renunciation of their pet vice might adversely affect the health of the addicts. These wise social reformers did not make the quixotic attempt of driving the addicts from the wine shop direct to the monastery. They did not make the idea of prohibition repulsive to the addicts by demanding from them a fugitive and cloistered virtue. They did not try to impose on the addicts an ineffectual and absurd morality. So they made provision for various games, amusements and other innocent recreations which might be considered by addicts as suitable substitutes for the harmful pleasures they had forsaken. If this principle of prohibition had not been thus tempered by pity and a wise dose of concession to the weakness of their moral fibre, prohibition would not have been made so welcome an idea to the addicts as it actually had been. The Madras ministers took the trouble of mixing with the people and of discussing the problems of prohibition with the addicts themselves.

Another important reason for the success of prohibition in the Congress provinces was that the cabinets set more value on man as such than on money. They had an unshaken faith in the essential goodness and nobility of man and they were reluctant to increase

their revenue at the cost of the human soul. They were not ready to give up the addicts as lost for all time to come. They believed that within the addict there sleeps a noble humanity which has to be rescued from the clutches of evil. And they were quite willing to sacrifice any amount of revenue so that the complete man might emerge unscathed out of the accidents of temptation. Like the good shepherd of the Bible, the Congress cabinets would not rejoice until the lost sheep had been found.

Economic Effects of the Introduction of Prohibition

Official reports on the working of prohibition in different Congress provinces have been published from time to time and are available to the public. I have referred to their contents elsewhere and do not intend to waste space here by repeating what has been already placed before the public. In order that there might not be any suspicion of bias, the Madras Government deputed scholars from the Annamalai and the Madras universities for making an economic survey of the district of Salem. These surveys were conducted in urban and rural areas. Different centres were chosen and the conditions prevailing there carefully studied. The results arrived at in these surveys are also available to the public. I have taken the trouble of studying carefully the working of prohibition in Congress provinces other than Madras and the conclusions at which I have arrived after a careful survey of the whole situation is as follows.

There has been marked improvement in the condition of women and children everywhere. Formerly the selfish bread-winner not only wasted a material part of his earnings on drink or drugs, but he always got more and better food than the rest of his family This consideration was shown to him because he never entirely lost their affection and also in order that he might continue to preserve as far as possible his physical efficiency. After the introduction of prohibition, the children and the women always got a fairer share of the food available. Everywhere the poor are better dressed than before ; debts are being repaid here and there. Household utensils of a humble type are being gradually bought. Ill-treatment of women and children has ceased in a majority of cases. And lastly, a larger amount than before is being spent for greater quantities and better quality of food.

The number of quarrels outside homes has diminished while in those districts where famine conditions prevail, there is not, in general, any noticeable increase in the number of petty crimes as was invariably the case before the introduction of prohibition.

New Taxation

The introduction of prohibition is a costly affair. All the Congress governments were faced with considerable difficulties in finding additional sources of revenue not only to make good the loss entailed by the introduction of prohibition but also to finance the activities of the different nation-building departments which had been neglected by the British Indian Government in the past. The Congress ministries faced boldly the unpopularity due to the taxes they had either imposed or intended to impose on the well-to-do for the benefit of the poor. As revenue from salt, customs, posts and telegraphs, railways, etc., cannot be touched by the provinces, the provincial governments were compelled to levy taxes on petrol, electricity, tobacco, entertainments, cross-word competitions, sales, etc.

Some of these measures secured legislative sanction while others had not been passed into law when the Congress ministries resigned. One and all were exposed to vigorous criticism from interested parties which occasionally was positively uncharitable in its tone. It is not uncommon to find that measures which are calculated to tax the rich for the benefit of the poor have been opposed by capitalists of every race, caste and creed in every province. In the U.P., for instance, the European industrial magnate joined hands with the Hindu and Musalman landlord and businessman for condemning the taxation measures of the Congress government. In Bombay, the Parsi capitalist who had acquired immense wealth by trade in alcoholic beverages followed suit. In South India, the same game was played by the wealthy people. These wealthy people should have appreciated the fact that there is only one way to combat communism which has grown into a world menace and that is to make every effort possible to raise the standard of living of the poverty-stricken masses, to educate them, to remove all legitimate causes of discontent before they emerge into their consciousness and thus to take away all incentive to mass action. To-day the capitalist is protesting because Government is asking a fraction of the wealth he is enjoying for

ameliorating the lot of the masses. If he is wise, he will sacrifice that fraction cheerfully in order to forestall the possible expropriation of the whole of the wealth of which he is the master. The writing has appeared on the wall already. It behoves the wise man to be careful before it is too late.

Our Duty as Indians

With the introduction of prohibition have occurred, here and there, cases of illicit manufacture and sale of these injurious articles. This, however, cannot be regarded as any reason for not introducing prohibition. Cheating, thieving and robbery have not been stopped in spite of deterrent and punitive legislation. No one dreams of either cancelling or suspending the operation of these laws because, occasionally, they are evaded successfully. Once we are convinced that prohibition is to the benefit of the country, it is our duty as patriotic Indians to introduce it and to take such steps as to make it an absolute success. I contend that the failure of prohibition in the United States should not discourage us. Probably many do not know that even after the repeal of prohibition, there are 5 states which have kept themselves " dry ", that about 17 states control the retail sale of alcoholic beverages so strictly that there is not much chance for excessive indulgence and lastly, that very strict rules have to be observed for the insertion of advertisements of liquor in periodicals. We should remember that conditions in India are radically different from those prevalent in the United States and as such more favourable to the introduction of prohibition and also that no one can say that a particular measure will be a failure till he gives it a fair trial. It is for us to take courage in both hands and to do all that lies in our power to make it a success. Thus and thus only shall we be in a position to find out for ourselves whether what was an impossibility in the west is an impossibility with us. " Faint heart," they say, " never won fair lady." No one who claims the possession of the proverbial grain of faith should entertain the slighest doubt that, given a fair chance, prohibition will be a success in our motherland. It has already proved a success in certain parts of India and it only remains to be extended to the rest of India.

Let it not be forgotten that the different Congress provinces cheerfully sacrificed over 300 lakhs of excise revenue and that if

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prohibition had been introduced throughout all the Congress provinces, 550,000 square miles of India would have been "dry" and more than 170 million of her children would have been saved from the temptation of indulging in drink and drugs. Success is within our grasp if only all of us offer our loyal co-operation to this move. The non-Congress provinces which either on account of timidity or interested motives have not yet adopted this ameliorative measure will then be forced by the pressure of public opinion to introduce it within their own areas. If prohibition proves a failure in non-Congress provinces, the only reason for it would be the ineptitude of their cabinets. Once the autonomous provinces go "dry," our next forward step will be to use every legitimate means in our power to encourage its introduction in the Indian States. Once we have achieved complete success in India, is there any doubt that once more we shall occupy the envious position of leaders pointing to the rest of the world the way to abolish the use of drink and drugs thus making it a better place to live in ?

It is our duty therefore not only as citizens of India but also as citizens of the world to put our hand to the plough and not look back. I know that there are many who are constantly criticising the Indian National Congress for its many sins of omission and commission. Let them remember that if history does not lie, up to the present, man has not yet been able to evolve any perfect organisation. Let them remember that what the British administration with all its power and prestige and the efficient machinery which it had brought into existence did not dare to attempt, our leader Mahatma Gandhi alone and unaided by man and relying on the blessing of God has set his hand to do, that he had secured such a hold on men like Sjs. Rajagopalachariar, Pant, Kher, Sukla, Srikrishna Sinha, Biswanath Das, Gopinath Bardoloi and Khan Abdul Gafar that they were ready to make any sacrifice in order to implement this programme. Does this not prove that he has the blessing of God in this his noble task and also that small and insignificant as he is to look at, he has that very rare gift of commanding the loyal allegiance of talented men ? How foolish it would be for us if we do not fully utilise the ungrudging services of such a great God-gifted leader and how petty our nature if we are unable to appreciate the largeness of his heart and the real greatness of the man ! If we are men, we should all bow down our heads in reverence to God who has at last taken pity on our unhappy

condition and has given us such a leader under whom we can, if we are wise, banish poverty, disease and dirt from our motherland. When we condemn the Indian National Congress, let us remember that it is the instrument chosen by Mahatma Gandhi for carrying through this programme of prohibition. Let us not forget that though there are other All-India organisations, they have not as yet realised their responsibility to the masses in this particular direction. Let us not forget that this one fact alone proves how closely the Congress has identified itself with the interests of the masses and, above all, whatever our other differences, let us all offer our most loyal co-operation to the Congress in implementing at least this part of its programme.

THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ AND THE ST. LOUIS MOVEMENT IN PHILOSOPHY

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THE works and journals of Emerson and Thoreau, give us the main points on which to base an estimate of the influence the *Bhagavat Gîtā* has had on American literature. Suffice it to say that, as far as transcendentalism is concerned, this influence was deep and had its reverberations elsewhere. The immediate influence upon the Concord Brahmins, with Emerson as central figure, has been dealt with at some length recently by Frederic Ives Carpenter (1930) and Arthur Christy (1932), and before them by many writers who rarely attained definition. William Torrey Harris, writing as early as 1885 on "Emerson's Orientalism," forms a laudable exception. Harris was implicated in the aftermaths of transcendentalism and, therefore, deserves separate mention. Outstanding among other names of writers whose interest is focussed on the Concord group and their Oriental leanings are Protap Chunder Mozoomdar (1885) and Herambachandra Maitra (1911), as well as Emerson's biographers—George Willis Cooke, Moncure Daniel Conway and James Elliot Cabot.

These authors rightly regard Emerson and Thoreau, and to some extent Amos Bronson Alcott and William Ellery Channing, as the pivotal figures in American Orientalism. Yet, no specific study has been made of the extent to which the Bhagavad Gîtā as such is implicated. Moreover, all writers have been merely satisfied with noting the passages containing the parallels, perhaps their immediate patterns, and appending a literary criticism. None has shown the historic necessity of the spread of Hindu ideas and their fate in American literature. Before this can be done with any degree of thoroughness it will be necessary to ferret out Orientalism in many more poets, literati and philosophers. I refer to my own work on Edgar Allan Poe (*Modern Review*, 1936), Wm. Torrey Harris (*The Monist*, 1936) and Josiah Royce (New York, 1931).

The figure of Wm. Torrey Harris holds the clue to what was really taking place at Concord, where transendentalism waned and died at the first breath of scientific philosophy. It is almost incomprehensible how this most prominent American thinker and educator could have been so slighted in the cultural history of the United States. At the time, everyone agreed—whether he ridiculed the venture or saw it full of promise—that it was Harris who towered as an intellectual giant behind the Concord School of Philosophy (1880-89).

True, Harris lacked the poetic genius and hence could not accomplish the twist of the transcendent to the transcendental that so captivated the imagination of minds trained less in the rigors of logic than in literary appreciation. Though the Concord School of Philosophy kept itself alive for 10 years with a total profit of 31 cents, it really was a still birth. The quality of the mystic was little in evidence which in luring does not spend its energy. The way of logic shown by Harris was steep, very steep, and hence incomprehensible to most, but it was straight. The immense respect which Harris owed Emerson really stood in the way of an intellectual rapture between the two which anyone might presuppose who experiences the tonus of the thought-world of either. Harris was the American philosopher of his time, there was no other thinker in his day who could match his philosophic acumen or assail successfully his convictions. Chivalrous to perfection though Harris was even in the fiercest discussion, his staunch Hegelianism revelled at the sight of the antithesis so that he might annul the difference and negate the negation.

When Harris came to Concord in 1880 the warp and woof of his philosophy was tightly knit. Its texture had undergone the test of many seasons in a frontier civilization by one of America's saddest periods, the Civil War, and her busiest time, the reconstruction. Concord invited Oriental drowsiness, the noon-tide philosophy of Henry David Thoreau—St. Louis would have none of this. Down there one fought not against the onslaught of sleep or the dream of " eternal Buddh " (Emerson), but against malaria, against the coarseness of human nature pitched into sharp competition with the promise of large gain. Emerson would cross the Western rivers on the ice to give some lectures and vanished again into his Olympus after the performance. Harris went West even before graduating from Yale to make a start in life and develop a zest equalled by very few.

Back in New England, a youth in his early twenties, Harris shared to the full the Oriental conviction that ultimate reality is One, that phenomenon alone exhibits diversity. The poem "*Brahma*" by Emerson, published first in 1857, is the perfect epitome of this grand Hindu attitude of unconcern with details, the affairs of pigmy humanity. All-devouring unity seemed the thing that is most worthwhile.

Missionaries had often written about these "mystic" conceptions of the East, they had found their way into the *Massachusetts Quarterly*. But no sympathy was ever divulged for the Oriental "unity." The fact that Emerson was a Unitarian had but slight bearing upon this problem. Christian unity and the unity in Brahman are poles apart. Why Emerson was stimulated by Oriental ideas had its roots mainly in his own psychic pattern. A genius he had built his own holy of holies after his first disappointments in life, in his own mind, personality and home. Loss of his first love, a sojourn lean of purse over glistening Europe, an innocently vigorous commencement speech before his gnarled Alma Mater, poetic inhibitions at delivering a traditional sermon, drove him into the arms of Indian metaphysics to spend his life on the fringe of practicalities.

Harris too started out in an atmosphere of oblivious scholarship, with a superb aptitude for philosophy. The period of *Aufklârung* was early followed in him by a dive into those border sciences that invite speculation. Soon he happened through Theodore Parker's essay on German literature on the right track. When arrived at St. Louis, 22 years of age, he had studied Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel and knew his *Wilhelm Meister* well. Back East he yet had worshipped Pure Being. Under New England skies the One loomed large, the many jaded. But when the train pushed Westward to the Mississippi, the urge to work, to build, to become grew on Harris never to leave him again. If the soul is in activity—how can one ever find God in anything else? The ultimate being mirrors itself forever in whatever happiness the mortal being delights in.

Thus, Harris's God emerged from the *devaloka* and hid among the manifoldness of experience and existence. After all, the Kantian thing-in-itself never could be laid hold of, or if laid hold of, resolved itself into the phenomenal. Still, the logical existence of, Brahman as a unity, a counterpart to the miscellany of our world, could not so easily be parted with, especially not in a keen thinker such as Harris

was. There, Hegel came as a god-send and showed him how both to have the unity without difference and not have it, how to preserve or conserve it.

This discovery and thorough mastery of Hegelian dialectics by Harris was one of the major influences upon American civilization, in the latter part of the last century. There is no danger of overstating the case. All criticism and consequent clarification of ideas owed their origin to this idea. All the pragmatic vagaries, feelings and "seems-to-me's" could not match the precision and sweep of Hegelian logic.

Everything could be and was interpreted by Harris who now drew men about him who formed the St. Louis Movement, as Hegelian dialectics. The greatest of all these fateful dialectics was the Civil War. The idealism, patriotism and spontaneous response of especially the German element in St. Louis had saved the State for the North and spared it the devastation and demoralization of the States to the East. It was a fratricide such as the *Bhagavad Gîtā* pictures it. Had Harris then known the *Gîtā* he might have been led to make the comparison. But he read it for the first time not until 1872. Probably no one outside the purely philosophical field studied it as thoroughly as did Harris. Had the reading come earlier, the St. Louis Movement might have taken another turn. As it was, Hegelian philosophy of history had gotten the better of Emersonian largeness.

It was in July, 1865, that Harris met Emerson at Alcott's house. Immediately they found themselves at friendly odds over Goethe, Emerson siding with Margaret Fuller and Eckermann, Harris contending they had done injury to Goethe in presenting only a finite side. The following afternoon saw Harris at Emerson's house who had put off another engagement. Young Harris writes as follows on this interview:

"He made me think that I should not establish a sympathetic relation with him. So I blazed away right and left thinking that I would hit something anyhow. We soon got on to East Indian literature and I asked him whether he had ever seen any place in that literature where self-determination was recognized as the absolute. I said the poem *Brahma* [*sic*] is capable of two significations—pure being and Spirit. The former is the one meant by the Hindoos. The latter is the development of Socrates and Plato. He took down the *Bhagavat Gîtā* [*sic*] and read some of the pantheistic passages

(quoted by Cousin and others), 'I am the doubter and the doubt' and the like. I listened. His voice is particulariy sweet and manly. A bewitching manner has made him idolized by his friends. I told him I had read the *Vishnu Purana* and the *Hito Padessa* [*sic*] and the *Sacoontala*, etc., and had studied Sanscrit a little. 'Brave man! Brave man!' said he to the last—I laughed and added, not enough to hurt, it had only been of philological use." (From an unpublished diary.)

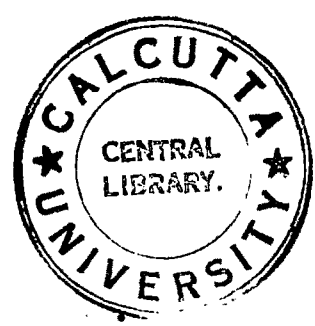
This meeting is significant in many respects. At this point in time Harris had already thoroughly mastered and made his own the distinction of "Pure Being" and "Spirit." Why would he have chosen spirit instead of pure being? Harris was despite his idealism a man who had his eyes open to the realities about him. Plato, Goethe, Emerson—they are forgiven if they dwell with the eternal verities. But down below there is work to be done. The genial unconcern of *Brahman* asserting "one to me are fame and shame" simply carried no meaning in St. Louis atmosphere; it lacked the antithesis which Harris needed to carry out his crusading for better education, more culture and a vital religion in a frontier civilization that could absorb without being gorged.

Most significantly, Emerson guided Harris, as so many others, to the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* which the youth up to that time had overlooked in his omnivorous reading. But, as mentioned, it was not until 7 years later that he applied himself with utter attention and sympathetic absorption to this Song. He read it in Charles Wilkins's translation. "The mastery of this small volume alone," he writes in *The Western* for 1875 (p. 635), "will set one fairly afloat with sail, rudder and compass upon the boundless ocean of East Indian literature." Impatiently he put in big letters over two of the pages of Thompson's Introduction: "unmitigated Twaddle." All annotations show understanding and a profound desire to interpret correctly. The adolescent enthusiasm for "Pure Being" crops out unmistakably. He puts a grand finale to his article on "Oriental Philosophy and the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*" by citing Dante's portrayal of the path from *Inferno* through *Purgatorio* to *Paradiso*, the vision of the *Erdgeist* in Goethe's *Faust* and Emerson's "*Brahma*." The *Bhagavad Gîtâ* had successfully invaded the Mississippi valley at last.

Wider and wider became the circle of Harris's influence. By 1875 already his first copy of the *Gîtâ* was loaned out and he acquired Thompson's translation in exchange. In contrast with his general

description of Indian philosophy, the *Gîtā* always received his sympathetic treatment. To what extent Emerson is to be credited with that is not certain, but both the person and genius of this bard were highly respected by Harris. When he came to Concord and established with Alcott the School of Philosophy, Emerson came and listened to his lectures. But as the Poet's mind had already taken refuge in his Elysium, so had Harris domesticated himself in logic. Whatever meaning transcendentalism had carried, it became depreciated by the practical idealism of the newcomer. The *Bhagavad Gîtā* was read much, to be sure, in Concord even between 1880 and 1890, but not with the abandonment to pure being. It was to Spirit, Hegel's *Weltgeist*, a quasi-theological concept that one bowed to, while *Brahman* had to be satisfied to become the negative side of the universal, philosophical, cultural and historical dialectic.

Somewhere in this interpretation there was a concession to temporal expediencies, however honestly and stolidly Harris was convinced of the absolute correctness of his views. The St. Louis Movement ebbed away, as even the strongest tidal wave must. The *Bhagavad Gîtā* also had its place in it, a larger one than some of us perhaps are willing to concede. For Harris was seen and heard at all the major educational conventions and many of the minor ones throughout the country ; he wrote for hundreds of publications and talked to thousands most intimately. And in all this the pivot of his world-view could unmistakably be discerned in Hegelian dialectic, the most convenient and picturesque illustration of which, for Harris, was ever the negative unity of Brahmanical philosophy at war with positive Christianity. Who knows how many times his emphatic statements may have driven the sceptic into the arms of that philosophy which *he* thought reason would vanquish?



IS PSYCHO-ANALYTIC PROCEDURE SCIENTIFIC ?*

S. C. MITRA, M.A. (CAL.), D.PHIL. (LEIPZIG)

AMONG those cultured persons and fashionable men and women who prefer to discuss the subject of psycho-analysis in their drawing room conversations, three distinctly different attitudes are noticeable. There are some who are dogmatic about the truths discovered by it, and would not hear anything against it. Some others are patronisingly indulgent. They convey the impression that they are fully aware of its terrible shortcomings but are prepared notwithstanding to pat it on the back. The third attitude is one of uncompromising hostility. Needless to mention that many incorrect ideas about the topic are cherished by these well-meaning members of society. I shall refer here to one such misconception which unfortunately seems to be cherished also by those who are expected to know better. It concerns itself with the question of the scientific nature of psycho-analysis.

It is said that psycho-analysis fails to fulfil the demands of an exact science, and need not therefore be taken with any seriousness. The objection follows from two tacitly assumed contentions. It is held, in the first place, that a science must necessarily have a whole laboratory full of apparatus, *e.g.*, elaborate electrical devices, fine measuring scales, jars, bottles, acids and cells, burners, coloured rays of light, wires, rods, switches, signals and what-nots, in order to maintain the uniqueness of its character. In the second place, it is maintained that the chief method of science is the experimental method, and therefore scientific truths are always demonstrable. As none of these prerequisites are found in psycho-analysis, the latter cannot claim to have a scientific status. My thesis, however, is that both the above-mentioned assumptions are unjustified, and based on an exaggerated conception of scientific procedure. When science first emancipated itself from theology and ceased to be designated as natural philosophy, the glamour of technique and mechanical appliances at

* Summary of a paper read at the Freud Commemoration meeting held at the Laboratory of Psychology, Science College, Calcutta, December 13, 1939.

once dazzled all its followers. Ever since that time, scientists have loved to gibe and scoff at the philosophers who have only one invisible and crude apparatus of their own, namely, Thought, and who know only one method of approach to all problems and mysteries of nature, namely, the elaboration of that thought in the processes of reasoning. At an age when the temper of the scientists ran on lines described above, it was but natural to expect that the evaluation of the scientific character of a particular study would be based on the nature, number and complexity of appliances employed in it. It is no wonder therefore that an adverse judgment should be pronounced in the question of the scientific nature of psycho-analysis. But the first stage of glamour seems to be passing away now, and well-renowned scientists are beginning to realise that all the glittering appliances themselves are not the gold in science. What are to be considered as essential requisites in any scientific investigation are a systematic observation of facts, and second, starting from these observed facts, reasoning forward with absolute disinterestedness to wherever such reasoning may lead to. The conclusions arrived at should be subjected to the utmost rigours of critical procedure, and put to severe tests of crucial facts. If the factual tests confirm the conclusions, no one who is honest about the scientific bent of his mind is at liberty to reject them, however discordant they might be with his cherished notions, and however unpalatable to his ethical temperament. Learning to accept disinterestedly facts just as they are—a dispassionate realism as one may perhaps call it—is one of the essential ingredients that go to make up the mind of a scientist.

As regards apparatus and appliances, they are only helpful accessories, not indispensable requisites, of a scientific investigation. Observation of facts consisting of hypothesis and conclusions may certainly be facilitated by the use of instruments. And what is an experiment? It is, as any first year student of science knows, only observation under controllable conditions. It has its obvious limitations, which, I think, need not be elaborated in such an assembly as this. One cannot observe the solar eclipse at his will, but has got to wait till the phenomenon actually happens. That the truths of science are demonstrable is very true, but one must remember that the word ' demonstrable ' might mean ' perceptible to the senses ' or might be shown to follow necessarily from the premises like the propositions in Euclidian geometry with Q. E. D. at the end.

If all these statements be true, the objection that psycho-analytic procedure is not scientific, utterly defeats itself. In one sense it may be said, however paradoxical it may sound, that only philosophy and mathematics which deal with abstract conceptions can strictly be called sciences. So long as one concerns oneself in one's imagination with points which have positions but no magnitude, with lines which have length but no breadth, with the Absolute and the *Nirguna*, the arguments, constructions and deductions are all realised to be true statements following necessarily from the premises. They are absolute scientific truths. But as soon as one plots a point on paper and draws a line, or seeks to express in words the absolute, limitations at once set in which are bound to affect adversely the purity of the conclusions. You cannot draw a line which has length but no breadth, however diligently you may try, and thus with concrete materials you can never satisfy the ideal demands of science. The nature of the material inevitably imposes restrictions which have got to be abided by. We accept these limitations in the case of physical sciences but tend to lose our patience whenever mental sciences attempt to draw our attention to certain inevitable limitations of their science. Such impatience, however, only disturbs the equanimity of the observer's mind and does not take away the scientific character of the studies in the domain of the mind. Let it be remembered that these studies have something for their object, which can never be directly touched, tasted, seen or heard, and therefore differs in essence from the object studied by the physical sciences. Nevertheless all of us, the objecting scientists included, take the phenomenal existence of this object for granted. From the epistemological point of view it may perhaps be stated that the attributes which the scientists confer on things which they study and which according to them give a distinctive character to concrete physical things, may not really lie in the things themselves, but may just as much be the products of their own imagination as the phantasies of the poets certainly are. Therefore there seems to exist as much ground for rejecting the scientific character of the physical sciences too as for refusing to accord a scientific status to the mental sciences.

We need not, however, go so far. It may easily be shown that psycho-analysis manifests all the essential characteristics of scientific investigation. Freud has not urged any fact to be recognised which he has not observed a large number of times in his patients, and

any truth to be accepted, which has not been constantly verified by logic as well as by facts. Whenever there has been any conflict between logic and fact, he has unhesitatingly recognised the fact and has sought for further evidences which would help remove the discrepancies. The discoveries that he made, were so startling even to himself that he never ventured to lay down any conclusion unless by repeated observations and verification he was sure of their underlying truth. Experimental verification is not possible in all cases. But the truths of psycho-analysis may in time to come stand that test too if the experiments conducted in our laboratory here and by others abroad be further continued.

If the result anticipated on the basis of an hypothesis is actually seen to happen in a large number of cases, surely that amounts to a verification of the hypothesis. I may here refer to the statistics recently collected of the cures effected by the psycho-analytical procedure. It tells in its own way how amply the psycho-analytical doctrines are verified.

It seems Freud's critics often lose sight of the fact that Freud himself was a scientist of no mean order and had already made notable contributions in the domain of Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, etc., before he happened to pass on to the sphere of the mind and pursue his researches there. What reason is there to assume, because a scientist no longer limits his investigation in the region of the tangible, he must necessarily rid himself of all the training that he had so far received and the tradition in which he had so long been brought up? " Would it be possible for him to do so even if he had wished? The fact that Freud was a scientist may not be *a priori* proof of the scientific nature of psycho-analysis, but it is a point certainly worth remembering when evaluating his contributions to psychology.

Judged therefore by all standards, psycho-analysis stands vindicated as a scientific doctrine. While some admittedly speculative ideas of Freud may or may not be incorporated in future in the body of the psycho-analytic theory, the foundations of the theory have been firmly laid and the ground floor securely built on that solid foundation. That is what Freud achieved in his lifetime. It remains for future analysis to complete the structure.

I cannot close this short account without referring to one eminently distinctive characteristic of Freud.—I mean his absolute disinterested-

ness. He seems to me to have risen like our *Rishis* of the ancient times—above himself—and to have pursued his investigations in the interest of truth and truth only. Anyone who has read his work cannot fail to be struck by the absolutely impartial outlook that he maintained throughout on the questions that he dealt with. Needless to mention that the questions treated by him were all of them of the most intimate and personal nature, relating to our sexual life, religious corrections, hatred, jealousy, etc. But the singular disinterestedness that he displayed and the extremely objective attitude that he manifested can hardly, I think, be paralleled in the history of science. If only his opponents could train themselves to cultivate and maintain such attitude—that is the one idea which constantly recurs to me whenever I peruse the volumes of Freud and then pass on to the writings of his critics. If anyone suffering from Freudophobia ever happens to consult me regarding his malady, the one and only prescription that I would make for him in all seriousness would be " repeated doses of Freud's writings." Nothing else would help to remove effectively the many misgivings in his mind as frequent references to the writings of the master himself.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN BENGAL*

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"SIR, which market in Calcutta you are in charge of ?" was a question put me by one who happened to overhear that I had some thing to do with marketing. On another occasion when I went to a Hostel to fix up a room for a visiting friend, the Secretary, on hearing that I was a Marketing Officer, and before learning the object of my visit, enquired what had I to sell, or perhaps I had gone there to book orders for supplies of provision.

Both of them were only partially correct and touched just the fringe of the subject. With every new innovation, a certain amount of curiosity is naturally aroused and until it is satisfied, guesses and conjectures of all kinds float about with an amount of assurance depending upon the status of their author. Similarly, the subject of Marketing is a new one and people are asking each other as to *what it is.*

Before I take a dip into the Marketing Ocean with you, it seems necessary to narrate briefly the events that led to its genesis.

On the 23rd day of April, 1926, the Royal Command appointing a Royal Commission on Agriculture was signed " to examine and report on the present conditions of agriculture and rural economy in British India and to make recommendations for the improvement of agriculture and the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the rural population ; in particular to investigate, among other things, the existing methods of transport and marketing of agricultural produce and stock."

The Commission assembled at Simla six months later, on the 11th October, 1926, and after touring India during two cold weathers, signed their Report on the 14th April, 1928, *i.e.*, 2 years after the signing of the Royal Command.

The Report extends over 755 pages split up into 21 chapters, and in Chapter IX, they discuss Communications and Marketing, in paragraph 320 of which they state:—

* A lecture at the Rotary Club, Calcutta.

"The Agricultural Departments in India have done much to improve the quality and to increase the quantity of the cultivator's outturn ; but it cannot be said that they have been able to give him substantial help in securing the best pos sible financial return for his improved quality and his increased outturn. Except to a limited extent, where improved quality is concerned, they have regarded the problems connected with the marketing of his produce as outside their purview. His interests have, therefore, in the main, been left to the free play of economic forces and they have suffered in the process. For he is an infinitely small unit as compared with distributors and with the consumers of his produce who, in their respective fields, become more highly organised and more strongly consolidated. It is in their interest to secure from the producer the raw material they handle or acquire at the lowest possible price. Marketing is the sole business of the distributor whereas, from the point of view of the cultivator, it is apt to be regarded as subsidiary to production."

"That abuses exist is, however, beyond dispute. For instance, when the primary collector, who acts also as a moneylender, succeeds in getting the cultivator into his grip, he is apt to use his advantage ruthlessly. Some of the marketing practices that obtain in the markets proper amount to nothing less than theft. Bad communications and chaotic conditions of marketing encourage a superfluity of middlemen. Apart from the organisation of producers for the sale of produce, the most effective means of removing unnecessary middlemen are the provision of good roads and the establishment of a sufficient number of well regulated markets, easy of access to the cultivator. For the framing of a sound and comprehensive policy for improvement in marketing, exact knowledge of the methods of distribution applicable to any class of produce, including collection, storage, transport, and, where it exists, manipulation, together with a detailed analysis of the price structure at every stage in the operation is essential."

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, a body constituted under the recommendations of the Royal Commission, took up the question of organising a Marketing Department to go through the whole question. Accordingly, an officer, later designated as the Agricultural Marketing Advisor to the Government of India, was appointed in April, 1934. He prepared a programme of work to be undertaken by the Government of India in collaboration with the Provincial Governments. This work, undertaken from the beginning of 1935, and

financed mostly by the Government of India for five years, was divided into three main divisions, namely,

(1) Investigation, or Survey work ;
(2) Work on Grading and Standardisation ; and
(3) Development work.

Survey work consists of making thorough investigations into Production, Import, Export, Handling and Transport, Storage, Wholesale and Retail Prices and the spread of the Consumer's Rupee among the producer and other agencies, Marketing Practices and Charges, and Weights and Measures. Investigations have so far been completed in Bengal in respect of 26 crops and commodities, including Paddy and Rice, Wheat, Barley, Maize, Mustard, Linseed, Coconuts, Groundnuts, Gram, Cattle, Milk, Hides and Skins, Sheep and Goats, Ghee and Butter, Mangoes, Plantains and Pineapples, Oranges, Tobacco, Coffee and Eggs, besides the study of Co-operative Marketing and Markets and Fairs in Bengal.

It was arranged that all Provincial Reports would be consolidated and then published on an All-India basis. Accordingly, All-India Reports on the marketing of Wheat, Linseed and Cold Storage have so far been published. Other reports are in the course of issue or under preparation.

Coming to the work on *Grading and Standarisation*, it has been realised that where several grades are recognised by the trade for export purposes, the producer does not get the benefit for the quality of his produce. He is made to sell in bulk. Hides are sold while on the animal's back. Eggs are purchased by the middlemen by the hundred, irrespective of the quality or size. The assortment or standards of jute are not known to the producer. Rice and Oilseeds are graded after they reach the Shipper. It is believed that if the grades were to be simplified and the producer advised as to the demands of the trade and the marketing done on those grades right from the producer's end, he would get better return. Realising this, an Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, 1937, was passed by the Central Assembly. It may be noted that this is only a permissive and not a compulsory Act. It lays down simple grades for Hides and Skins, Tobacco, Grapes, Oranges, and Eggs, to which Atta and Ghee were later added.

Accordingly, grading of Hides, Oranges and Eggs has been taken up in Bengal. Graded Ghee is also now available in this province. The stamp of "Agmark" over each graded article stands for freshness and purity. Rigid tests are laid down to enforce these, and unauthorised grading or wrong grading have been provided for and penalised.

Grading and Standardisation work, however, is not restricted to the laying down and working out of the standard grades for certain crops and commodities. It also comprises of the standardising of the Contract terms under which trade in heavy staple crops, such as Rice, Wheat, Linseed, etc., is done. This is a most important work as all buying, particularly for export purposes, must be done according to definite terms to be agreed upon by both parties. Moreover, in order that profits and losses over a period in the future be controlled, trading in Futures has to be resorted to. It is asserted in certain quarters that trading in Futures is one form of gambling and, perhaps, this is true to some extent if it assumes a condition of paper transaction only without the provision of actual deliveries. It is also true that in order to assure a certain amount of steady profit, or to avoid the risk of heavy losses owing to abrupt market fluctuations or failure of crops, trading in Futures has become an essential and complicated form of trading. The standardisation of Contract terms also makes price quotations at different markets at the same time, or in the same market over a long period of time, comparable. It facilitates inter-trading and makes the machinery of distribution more efficient generally.

I may mention here that as a result of deliberations between the Marketing Department and the trade, complete harmony and uniformity has been achieved in the standardisation of Contract terms in the Wheat and Linseed trade and these have been accepted as the bases for all Future trading in respect of transactions for May, 1939 deliveries.

We now come to the third and the last function of the Marketing Section, namely *Development*, which follows as a natural sequence to Investigation and Grading work. Development work may be taken as the ultimate goal, for unless this is undertaken, the Investigation and Grading in themselves do not go very far in helping the producer, which is the sole object of this work.

I may briefly describe the branches of Development work which are aimed at and would be attempted in course of time:—

Firstly, *Publicity*. The Marketing Section would serve as a Clearing House for information relating to the Marketing of agricultural crops and commodities. In fact, enquiries have already started pouring in, and are being attended to, in respect of prices, possible markets, names and addresses of wholesale merchants handling particular commodities, etc.

Secondly, helping the cultivator in marketing his produce in the best market, by providing him all information and facilities.

Thirdly, Organisation of corporate bodies of producers in co-ordination with the Co-operative Department or otherwise.

Fourthly, Propaganda by means of regular Radio Broadcasts, Periodic Bulletins, Newspapers or special telegraphic communication would be a useful function.

Fifthly, *Weights and Measures*. This is a delicate subject which is receiving the attention it deserves. It is no secret that the interested persons have given currency to an abnormal range of weights with the only object of defrauding the producer of the rightful value of his produce. In any scheme of improvement of marketing, therefore, due attention must be paid to this phase of the problem. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, however, the laying down of the standards, weights and measures is a Central subject and after a Central Legislative Assembly Act specifying the units of weights and measures has been passed, the Provincial legislatures can have their own Acts for applying those standards in their respective provinces. The subject is under the consideration of the Government and I understand a Central Act is in the making.

Sixthly and lastly, perhaps the most important function of the Marketing Section would be the regulation of Markets and Market Charges in Bengal. This was visualised by the Royal Commission. Producers are daily losing lakhs of Rupees in the shape of Market Charges, in one form or another, deducted from their dues, remorselessly and against their will, against which they have absolutely no redress. Those deductions take the form of Sample ; Dhalta or excess weight per maund ; Britti or Iswar-Britti, *i.e.*, charity ; Baisari, *i.e.*, a quantity of the produce kept on the ground to sit upon ; Koyali and Kabari, *i.e.*, weighing and Menials' charge ; Mangon or something begged ; Dudh-Khawa, or something to buy milk for the buyers' children ; Hath-tola, or something which the buyer may lift with his own hands as a favour brokerage besides a percentage deducted as

refraction in lieu of dust, dirt, water or other impurities which may or may not exist. Most of these charges or deductions are illegal ; but the position is that they cannot be prohibited except through an Act. Acts for the establishment of regulated Markets, the licensing of brokers, buyers and other operatives in the market, the regulation of weights to be used in these markets, the prohibition of all deductions except those in respect of certain services rendered, have been passed and are in force in the Central Provinces, Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad State for some time. An Act on similar lines has recently been passed in the Punjab and a Bill is under the consideration of the Government of Bengal also.

In conclusion, I may say that as the ecocomic depression, through which the world has just emerged, amply demonstrated, the prosperity and well-being of all trades and professions depends on the prosperity and well-being of the cultivator. It should, therefore, be the sincere effort of every one to see that the cultivafor gets a fair value for his produce. The direct effect of a rise or fall in prices of agricultural produce is more vividly marked in the country rather than in urban areas. The doctors, the lawyers, minor tradesmen, the Post-Office, the Railway and every one starves if the cultivator does not get a reasonable price for what he has produced. Naturally, if he does not earn, he cannot pay. Rightly did the Royal Agricultural Commission point out, therefore, that the time was ripe that the Government studied the problems connected with the marketing of agricultural produce and laid down a line of action whereby the producer was saved from the wiles of clever middlemen and got a due share of the consumer's buying price. This then is the aim and object of the Marketing Section of the Agricultural Department in Bengal.

THE BASIS OF ULTIMATE VALUES

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THE conception of value is receiving such wide attention in contemporary philosophy that no world-view can be credited with constructive thoroughness which fails to offer some definite theory of values in accordance with its general philosophic principles. The philosophy of values is frequently equated with the whole of philosophy, so much so, that the metaphysical basis of values is either ignored or arbitrarily assumed. The present paper aims at an explication of the metaphysical presuppositions of values. It does not deal with the problems and laws of valuation in general, as that aspect of the matter has received more than sufficient discussion by great thinkers of the present generation, like Perry, Urban, and Hartmann. It arbitrarily assumes that the traditional trinity of ultimate values, Truth, Beauty and Goodness, constitutes the values, whose philosophic foundations it proposes to discover and formulate. Consequently three questions are left unanswered from the beginning to the end: (1) Are values objective or subjective or both or neither ? (2) Do all the three values, Truth, Beauty and Goodness constitute ' the ultimate values.' ? And if so, do they exhaust or form a part of them ? (3) Finally, what is their inter-relation and relative importance ?

We may define value as that for which human beings ' ought ' to have concern. They are factors in our life which render it significant. Life at its best is a progressive realisation of these ' ultimate values.' Now, what is the objective basis or metaphysical implication of the possibility of Truth, Beauty and Goodness ? Does the acceptance of the supremacy of these spiritual values involves any definite view as to the nature of ultimate Reality ? This is the essential issue which we hope to face in this essay. Let us begin with Truth.

TRUTH

Truth is the ideal of the mind in its efforts to understand the universe. It is the attribute neither of the objective universe nor of the subject conceived as an inactive spectator.

It characterizes the acts of mind in which it is engaged in comprehending Reality. Those acts which issue from the mind's 'nisus' to apprehend the nature of existence, are known as judgments. Truth is the quality of ideal judgments, judgments through which the mind records for itself faithfully the nature of the objective world.

Every judgment consists of two factors, a subject and a predicate, a 'That' and a 'What,' an existence and a content. This analysis becomes intelligible as we invariably find in every judgment some presentation to which some character is ascribed by the judgment. Now the existential status of these two elements of judgment admits of two contradictory statements: (1) Both the subject and the predicate are purely ideal in nature, images presented in the mind. (2) Both of them are absolutely real, 'out there' in the world of facts. Both these positions are faulty. We shall examine them in some detail

(1) If all the judgments that we frame are absolutely mental in nature, to determine that they are so, lies beyond our powers. The definite assertion that they are merely ideal, implies the knowledge of the contrast between the real and the ideal. But such knowledge is impossible, as all knowledge is confined to the ideal. As the distinction cannot be grasped, the proposition that the 'That' and the 'What' of judgment are both ideal, has no valid foundation.

(2) The statement that both the subject and the predicate are real, does not recognise the problem of error. Error is an ideal misconstruction of Reality. It is positing as real what is not real. Some thinkers who are eager to preserve the realistic account of judgments, explain error as the cognition of an unreal relation between real entities. But in so far as the erroneous judgment posits an unreal relation, it involves an ideal element.

Hence, we come to the conclusion that in every judgment there must be contact between Reality and an ideal element.

Now the question is to decide as to which, between the subject and the predicate, is real and which is ideal.

The principle, whose application should solve the riddle, is that 'that factor in judgment is ideal which stands for interference in error and gets sublated or supplemented in the correcting judgment.'

In the typical instance of erroneous cognition 'it is a snake,' when the correcting judgment 'no, it is only a rope' arises, we see that the subject "it" remains unchanged. It means that the subject is not misconstructed in error and is not altered, supplemented or cancelled in

the correcting judgment. It is the aspect of 'What' that stands contradicted and in which the correcting assertion makes a substitution. In principle, the ideal element in judgment is posited just to account for error. Therefore the factor that is affected in error is ideal in nature. Hence the ideal content in judgment must be the predicate.

Thus we come to idealist definition of judgment as 'the reference of an ideal content to a subject in Reality.' It is to the judgment so defined that the attribute of Truth should belong.

Next we have to analyse the meaning and discover the criterion of Truth. The plain and ultimately sound interpretation of the concept of Truth is that it is the perfect apprehension of Reality, the vision of things as they are, and the revelation of being as such. The problem of Truth comes down upon us with all its weight only when we take up the question of its criterion. The naïve common-sense idea is that correspondence with facts is the test of Truth. But the fundamental difficulty as to how minds confined to their thoughts can have access to facts independent of thoughts and compare thoughts and facts, stares us in the face. As pure reality uncontaminated by thought is beyond centres of thought, such centres can never observe the correspondence or its absence between their thoughts and the nature of Reality. Hence the correspondence criterion is starkly indefensible in theory and unworkable in practice. The pragmatic test of practical utility and insistence on the instrumental value of Truth, freed from the exuberant irrelevance of some of its advocates, boils down to the criterion of Truth as consistency in experience. It is also vindication of a judgment on the strength of non-contradiction and harmony in experience. The theory of Truth as a distinct quality of objective entities ignores the basic nature of Truth as pertaining to a mind engaged in understanding Reality. We cannot also regard as the mark of Truth any specific quality possessed by all judgments as that position cannot resolve conflicts of thought. Nor can we resort to the contention that the criterion of Truth is a quality possessed by true judgments as the whole position would be a cowardly retreat before the demand for a criterion. On the whole the realistic definition of truth is more mystical than what the idealist view has ever been.

Then the doctrine that the criterion of Truth is consistent predication, remains to be considered. Its strength lies in the fact that

it can be contradicted only on the assumption of its validity. If we deny the criterion on the ground that there are incoherent truths and coherent errors, we are denying it because of its failure to stand the test of consistency. Consistency is not mere non-contradiction as that can be due to the absence of the possibilities of contradiction. A judgment with that kind of non-contradiction can at best have only doubtful validity and never genuine Truth. Truth must include and triumph over the possible grounds of contradiction. Then coherence, considered as the test of Truth, means the confirmation of the predication of a judgment, whose truth is in question, by a system or order of experience. It is positive intellectual harmony that a thought exhibits with a system of thoughts that invests it with the value of Truth. Harmony is not mere absence of collision but it is the vital bond of pervading unity.

Now, in the light of the view of judgment we have propounded and the view of Truth as harmonious predication, we have to enquire into the ontological implications of the possibility of Truth.

Reality is the subject of all judgments. So, Truth, as coherent judgment is a predication of Reality. It is no phenomenal arrangement with no roots in the factual world. Hence in examining the metaphysical basis of Truth we are not making a transcendental use of empirical categories The notion of Truth as harmonious predication involves certain principles with regard to the character of the 'That' of which it is affirmed.

1. The 'That' of a true proposition cannot be a bare particular. If it is a bare particular, it cannot enter, as it should, into a diversity of concurrent cognitive situations. An entire system of judgments or a whole order of experiences, which confirms the claim to truth of a particular proposition, must be about the subject of that proposition itself. It must make entry into all such occasions of experience, if they should cohere in their affirmations about it. For a bare particular, or an absolutely unique entity, such an entry is a complete impossibility.

2. The subject of a true judgment cannot be a finite existent. If it is a finite real, the area of relevant experience in which harmony is to be eliciated, is limited. The harmony of affirmations, in a limited area of experience cannot be judged unequivocally to be the proof of the truth of any judgment. There always remains, in that case, the ultimate possibility that the harmony might have disappeared

if the relevant system of experience was not so limited. The harmony in experience may indicate the restriction by which it is conditioned without revealing any truth. It is not impossible to believe that if the category in question was not finite and therefore experience about it was not a finite system, the harmony now accomplished in it would have disappeared. Hence no finite intellectual harmony can reveal genuine truth, as it is infested by an inherent scepticism. Therefore the subject of a true judgment cannot be a finite order of existence. We see that Reality, of which Truth is a consistent predication of ideal contents, cannot be a unique atom of being, a bare point, a perishing particular. It is also inconceivable that it can be a finite principle, leading to the final philosophic theory that Reality is an aggregate of finite existents. We can neither be metaphysical atomists nor pluralists. The basic conditions of Truth itself repudiate such possibilities. Reality as the subject of Truth is infinite, all-inclusive and absolute.

3. Such infinite Reality cannot be non-spiritual in its nature. If it is not a centre of experience, Truth cannot have it as its subject. Truth implies that certain ideal contents have objectivity. Otherwise there is no true judgment. Objectivity means that the ideal contents which the mind posits as characterizing reality do characterize it exactly as the mind posits. Truth means an undistorted reproduction of Reality for a mind. Now the all-important issue is: How can a non-mental Reality possess a character exactly identical with that which is cognized by a mind? How can the ideal content woven into the texture of a spiritual life, into a living consciousness, maintain absolute self-identity in Reality outside? How can the predicate, which is an organic member of an integral intelligence, be there in existence divorced from its membership in that totality? Does a part participating in the vital unity of a whole, determining it and determined by it, retain its identity absolutely when deprived of its living participation in the life of the whole? The only logical answer is that Reality itself is a spirit and in true thinking our minds only re-think the thoughts of that spirit positing ideal contents exactly as posited by it. The alternatives to this position are that (1) judgment does not involve an ideal content, or (2) such contents do not objectively qualify Reality. The first alternative makes error unaccountable and the second lands us in absolute agnosticism. As both are ultimately self-contradictory standpoints, we are constrained,

by the nature of the situation, to look upon Absolute Reality, of which Truth is consistent predication, as a spirit. If there is no fatal flaw in the course of our reasoning this conclusion is inevitable. If our theories of judgment and truth are not fundamentally defective, the view of ultimate Reality as Infinite Consciousness cannot be escaped without self-contradiction.

So far, then, we have laboured to get glimpses of the metaphysical grounds of the value of Truth. We may try a similar analysis with regard to the value of Goodness.

GOODNESS

Goodness is an attribute of volition. An act of volition possesses this quality if it aims at the realisation of ends that are worth realising, according to the determination of reason Virtue is rational willing. When our volition pursues a rationally conceived system of ideals, we are realising the value of Goodness.

The essence of the moral value is that it involves an assertion of human personality against irrational tendencies and automatic subsistence. The power of will and reason to take the reins over human life is definitely implied by morality. In so far as moral life implies the supremacy of reason over our course life it subscribes to the metaphysical commitments of intellectual life that we have so far analysed. In addition to that implication, can we draw out any presupposition as to the character of Reality, on which we can demonostrate morality to be ultimately based ?

1. Morality primarily postulates that human nature can be moralized. This is a tremendous assumption in view of the immense complexities of human psychology. That we can rationally control our lives, should be the cardinal faith of a moralist. Such possibility of self-determination in subordination to our vision of values is what is meant by the principle of freedom.

2. It further postulates that the organic instruments of our lives which condition our self-realization, modify the principle of freedom, if they are not conceived as the results of some previous exercise of freedom on our part. In other words, some form of the doctrine of *karma* is a necessity for an ethical view of life to supplement the postulate of freedom.

3. Morality, in the social situation, means the self-realization of individuals as the integral members of a social organism in such a

way that in the progress of each is implicated the necessity for the progress of all. It is the growing actualization of the general will, the progressive translation of the abiding self or the common self of society into the world of social facts. Such a notion of social morality implies that human nature is such that social harmony and common good are realizable by it. This again is a significant postulate of morality.

These are some of the major principles on which morality is based. If the cosmic process is diametrically at enmity with the moral process, these essential grounds of morality would be extrinsic to the nature of Reality and consequently morality becomes an illusion. Even then the world cannot be wholly a-moral, for, the relation between morality and these conditions can be expressed in the form of a hypothetical proposition and even the hypothetical judgment is ultimately predicated by Reality.

If, on the contrary, the roots of moral life, freedom, *karma* and the social capability of man, are not annulled but contained in Reality as facts of existence, then the world can no longer be alien to morality. Goodness will then have an ' internal relation ' and intimate relevance to the universe. How can these conditions of moral life, which are integrally related to a consciousness of moral values and which are the *ratio essendi* of goodness, while goodness is the *ratio cognoscendi* of these, be there in Reality, disconnected from the ethical process ? When it is in their nature to be related to a moral consciousness and an ethical struggle, it is definitely irrational to affirm their existence in Reality without conceding the implication that Reality is also a moral consciousness. Either the world is the expression of a universal ethical spirit, or the roots of morality do not exist in Reality as they are implied by morality and therefore the moral process is an absolute illusion.

The grounds of the moral development of an individual, which can enter as necessary elements into that course of a spirit's self-evolution, cannot have a cosmic status and objective being without the sublation of their fundamental nature itself, unless there be a ' cosmic envisagement ' of the ideal of such perfection. The self-realization of a moral being is impossible if it is not based on the teleology of the universe itself. This then is the conclusion of our argument; morality to be possible, requires that the world should be a ' moral order,' an order which is the expression and manifestation

of a universal ethical consciousness. If it were not so, it cannot possess factors which can function as necessary elements in the moral process. The central principle of the argument is that the elements of a system of existence cannot exist in any other system except on the basis of an ultimate identity of structure. Such a conception of Reality as a 'moral order' is the metaphysical pre-supposition of the moral value.

Beauty

The nature of Aesthetic value eludes clear definition and distinct analysis. It is certainly not due to the failure of philosophers to tackle the issue. The intrinsic difficulty of translating a rich and vivid experience into clear and distinct conceptual forms, prevents the success of rational investigation. If we bear in mind the inability of mystics to give intelligible expression to the concrete experiences they live through, the situation in the analysis of beauty can be easily grasped. The distance in these cases between the empirical and the philosophical point of view is not easily covered. The seer of beauty has no keen urge to dissect and define his living visions and the analytic intellect of the student of aesthetics moves often in the void as he lacks fresh and concrete data in his own personal experience. Conception without perception is empty, though, in this case, perception without conception is not blind.

But a philosophy of values blunders into a grave error of omission, if it does not pursue its enquiry into the realm of beauty. We can consider the metaphysical basis of beauty after a preliminary statement of the general conditions of aesthetic experience.

1. We must recognise the first characteristic of beauty that Hegel emphasized. It must have a *sensuous* form. We might have religious revelation without appeal to the sensory basis. We might dispense with the perceptible basis in any other type of experience. But as far as beauty is concerned the sensory form is a fundamental condition.

2. The second essential feature of beauty is that it is not universal in its visitations. It does not become an object of contemplation to all observers irrespective of their spiritual powers. The sensuous form should be acted upon by the 'shaping spirit of imagination' to reveal its treasures of delight. An experience of aesthetic

significance without an active exercise of creative imagination by the observer is never a possibility. The mind must read the significance of things with constructive effort. It is the fairy touch of the artist's mind that moulds three sounds into not a fourth sound but a star. What a cloud can mean to a creative soul is what the Indian poet so richly portrayed. For a mind devoid of such aesthetic fecundity, there is no beauty on earth or in heaven. Only he 'who hath shall receive.'

(3) There is another abiding characteristic of all experience of beauty in nature, that is pregnant with implication for the present discussion. All the observers of beauty in nature feel the objective existence of beauty even apart from their experience of it. They believe that they do not create it but only re-create it to themselves. All their imagination is employed even in such re-creation as in the case of the contemplation of artistic beauty. The depth of such affirmation of the objectivity of beauty is in direct proportion to the intensity of aesthetic experience. The more one is within such experience, the more he posits its contents outside its subjective circle.

Such an affirmation found its first magnificent expression in the *Symposium* of Plato. For him there is an absolute cosmic beauty, of which our experiences reveal only parts. A similar conception is elaborated in the *Taittirīya Upanishad*, for which the central fact of the universe is *Ananda*, and we experience parts of it in our best and most blessed moments. For Aristotle, poetic truth is higher than historic truth. Beauty is more real than the reality of the sub-aesthetic level. For Hegel beauty heightens the reality of appearances and thus possesses indubitable objectivity. Wordsworth thinks of a 'wise passiveness' as the right mood to receive beauty. He thus implies its factual character. Coleridge speaks of beauty as the 'Eternal Language' in which 'God teaches Himself in all and all things in Himself.' Shelley speaks of the poet as creating 'forms more living than living men.' Browning in his *Fra Lippo Lippi* works out a sustained vindication of the cosmic significance of beauty: 'And God made it all.' Keats raises this ultimate question in the last line of his *Ode to Nightingale*: 'Fled is that music—do I wake or sleep?' Is the day-to-day world of solid facts the reality?—or is the glorious vision of beauty the road to reality? Moved as he was by the logic of his all-absorbing love of the principle of beauty,

he set forth his basic conviction: 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty.' Such then has been the universal affirmation of the aesthetic consciousness.

Led as we are by these facts of the situation, we are obliged to recognize two determining principles: (1) Beauty is immanent in a creative imagination. (2) In human experience the objectivity of beauty, its existence beyond the creative contemplation of finite subjects, is asserted.

Neither of these guiding ideas can be rejected without violence to the demands of the aesthetic spirit. Beauty ought to be beyond the subjective experience of finite observers and, by its very constitution, it is immanent in a creative mind. The inevitable inference should be that there is a creative imagination at the very heart of the universe which sustains all the glory and radiates all the sunshine that the beauty of our experience partially communicates to us in our brief moments of rare insight. We can avoid this conclusion either by rejecting the objectivity of beauty or by denying the fact of the immanence of beauty in a creative consciousness. But both of them are consequences that conflict with the dictates of experience. Hence we have the affirmation of a cosmic spirit, in whose experience all the grandeur, all the beauty and all the sublimity that enrapture us, find an eternal habitation. The universe is to be conceived as a work of art, into which the creative soul of the cosmic artist is poured in incessant streams.

> 'An endless fountain of immortal drink,
> Pouring unto us from the heaven's brink.'

This is a brief and rough indication of the view of reality that the realization of Truth, Beauty and Goodness logically presupposes. All the three values involve the concept of the universe as a *spiritual system*. The main method of the argument employed throughout has been to show that certain essential elements involved in the process of the realization of these values, must exist in Reality independent of finite experiences. But these factors are by hypothesis ingredients of an order of spiritual existence. To separate them from such an order is to annihilate their nature. Therefore, to maintain them in the universe, independent of the individual subjects without violating the principal law of their being, we are obliged to think of Reality as a spiritual principle. This is the basis of ultimate values.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE METHODS OF TEACHING SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS*

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FOR various reasons Science should be considered as one of the most important subjects of the school curriculum. It is generally pleaded that the teaching of Science in schools should be prized for its cultural, disciplinary and utilitarian values. But the strongest reason why it should get a respectable position in the school curriculum is that the subject is highly interesting to the young mind. Interest, in fact, should be the guiding principle which would determine the subjects that are to be taught in schools. And interest, again, should be considered as the most important factor that would determine the nature of the organisation of instructional materials in schools.

We live in an age of Science. There is, to-day, hardly any field which has not been influenced by it. Science has become, so to say, a force in the modern world for its utilitarian values. But it will be a mistake if we think that its contributions have been only in the field of our material prosperity. Even Philosophy which once fought so shy of Science has now been definitely influenced by it. Works of William James, Henri Bergson and Bertrand Russell amply justify this statement. Science is not a new thing; its history goes back to the very primitive stage of human existence. Throughout the ages, Science has in some form or other helped us in our march of progress. We now confidently believe that human progress that has been made during the last 500 years is much greater than the progress achieved during the previous 50,000 years. And it is no exaggeration to say that the rapid progress of Science during the last few centuries has been mainly responsible for the bold strides in the progress of our civilization.

Though Science is now taught in our schools we find from experience that it has utterly failed to develop the scientific outlook of

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our children. This can easily be seen from their general lack of initiative to utilize scientific knowledge. Our children feel helpless when they are expected to apply their knowledge of Science to any everyday, useful purpose. To be able to understand scientific truths and to be able to apply knowledge from those truths are two quite different things. Knowledge can never be a power unless it is made a part of our lives. If our children cannot utilize their knowledge it is because they cannot properly assimilate the instructional materials. This serious defect is due more to the faulty methods of approach and procedure in the teaching of Science in our schools than to anything else. Our conventional way of fixing a syllabus for a class is simply to include a portion of the subject. This is a bad beginning; an approach should always be through something in which the children themselves are interested. In teaching HEAT it is far better to begin with the Thermoflask than to come directly to such items as conduction, convection, etc. And it is always possible to come over to actual items of teaching through some everyday object in which children are naturally interested. We are to consider the mental capacity of children at the time of approaching an item.

Children, as a rule, take more interest in things around than they are actually supposed to, and as such there is another important thing in connection with this method of approach. A teacher of science should always select his topic from the actual environment of his children. Through such a topic he can naïvely guide them to the subject matter, so that he may be really effective in his teaching process. Now, environments are different in different localities. A teacher in a big city like Calcutta or Lucknow will do well to teach HEAT through such a topic as the Steam-engine or like machinery but a teacher in a rural school has got to leave such things alone. Here the teacher may take up the case of an ordinary cooking vessel in action in connection with his teaching. In this case the cooking vessel will be found to be more real than items with which children have no real contact. This is a particular concrete case; but the principle can always be applied with advantage in teaching children.

There are various well-known methods of teaching Science in schools. Some of these are evidently sound from the point of view of child Psychology. The general Herbartian steps are eminently suitable for teaching children. But as actual experimentations

are indispensable in the process of learning scientific subjects, other supplementary methods become necessary. The ingenious "heuristic" method can be said to have contributed much to the requirements of the methodology of teaching Science. But this method has its demerits as well ; it is slow and as such we cannot expect to cover a full syllabus mainly through this method. The "concentric" method has got an advantage in allowing the teacher to treat the syllabus by covering the same ground, generally thrice, with a gradual increase of scope and instructional materials every time. At first only the general ideas covering the subject are dealt with, then more facts in addition to those already given are brought in, and, finally, the whole topic due to be taught is treated in the last stage. The "topic" method is also very interesting. In this method a particular topic, and not a portion of the syllabus, is selected, and through this selected topic the required syllabus is covered in an indirect way. For example, if we select the topic SOIL we can bring in and can actually teach such widely different things as Compounds, Mixtures, Absorption, Saturation, Food for plants, Disintegration of rocks, and so on and so forth. Naturally everything will depend upon the power of imagination, and the ability of the teacher to fit in different items of the syllabus to the selected topic.

As already mentioned these are all well-known methods of teaching Science in schools. Most of these methods are sound. But the actual difficulty creeps in, not due to any defect of the methods but due to the unhappy selection of a particular method at a particular stage. Children develop through stages. There are several "milestones" in their life-history. A child of three is virtually different in mentality and disposition from an adolescent of 14 or 15. The scope of this article does not permit a full description of all the different stages of development ; it will be sufficient, however, if we are careful about them in our class-room methods. Obviously, none of the above methods, taken singly, can be successful with children of all ages. What is wanted is a combination of all or a few of the above methods, according to the need of the situation.

It is not the knowledge of Science that is so important ; it is the spirit that comes from such knowledge that counts most. True scientific spirit develops only when the knowledge of science is made a part of life itself. The teacher of Science should see, therefore, that a strong motivation is created in the class and that his students

find interest in what they are set to learn. It is for this reason that the teacher should take care of many other things which may seem to have little or no connection with the actual methods of teaching. Under this category comes the question of fitting the Laboratory neatly, not necessarily with costly appliances, and of decorating the class-room artistically with suitable charts, diagrams and pictures. An arrangement for running water for the Laboratory can be made by fixing a bucket full of water to a hook high on the wall and joining a rubber tubing to the bucket. If now a suitable adjustable hook is connected to the other end of the tube, good running water can be had whenever necessary. A little common sense may create many other useful appliances for our schools. Nor is that all. If proper freedom is allowed, children too will be found able to suggest and even actually arrange new contrivances necessary in the class for teaching Science.

Our present-day teaching of Science in schools is introducing nothing but disconnected scraps of knowledge of Science into the minds of our children. The chief remedy lies in the correlation of subjects. Not only should there be a correlation of different science subjects but there should be a correlation of other widely different subjects such as English, History, Geography, etc., with Science. There is another point which is also interesting in this connection. Studies of History of Science and biographies of eminent scientists will surely bring in a closer touch between the two groups of minds—the minds of the children and the minds of the scientists. Inclusion of History of Science and biographies of scientists in the subject of Science will obviously help our children in partly sharing the impersonal joys of inventors.

The chief aim of education is to develop the individuality of the child. The child learns and develops through active experience. Science affords ample opportunities for this development. But the teacher should be ever mindful of the psychological aspects of the methods of teaching Science. It is high time that the fact that the actual methods of teaching in schools are more important than instructional materials, should be brought home more surely to the minds of our teachers in schools than before.

We hear of various new methods of teaching Science in Europe and America. But we cannot profitably accept them *in toto*, for our schools in India. We are now beginning to feel that traditions

and social conditions have a strong influence upon all educational systems for children. It is, in fact, impossible to evolve new systems without taking into account the nature of the social structure of a country. Indian conditions are different from those of Europe and America and as such we are to orient even the best and tried methods of other countries if we really mean to get full benefit from the teaching of Science in our schools.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN INDIA*

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EDUCATION was growing in the west and was growing on quite well. But educationists there wanted it to grow more quickly, and grow into greater health. Hence they were intent on finding out something that would ensure to education a more vigorous growth—some food that would be to it a perennial source of nourishment and strength. And they found the *training of teachers* to be such a food. Education in the western countries had helped itself to plenty of this food, and had fattened on it, when early in the present century the rulers of India were awakened to the fact that it was time that India also should begin to have a little of this food.

But India was given the food very sparingly at the outset, and certainly it was a wise step. For, who will doubt the injudiciousness of stuffing a child or even a man with an article of food which is quite new to him ? So when, at the start, the David Hare Training College and the Dacca Training College were established in Bengal, and the rest of India got just a few Training Colleges, people only admired the wisdom and reasonableness of Government. Because, India should be given time to get used to the new kind of food before she can be made to take it in plenty.

We stand now removed, by thirty years or more, from the day when the first very definite step was taken to provide each province of India with one or two Teachers' Training Colleges. Education in India has in the mean time got used to the training of teachers, and its appetite for the food has grown. But does it get such quantity of the food as its appetite demands ? No, it does not. In fact, India now gets scarcely more of the food than when it was first introduced here. So far as Bengal is concerned, her portion of the food practically stands just where it was when she had the first taste of it.

The effect of this may very easily be imagined. The proportion of trained teachers in most of the provinces is still hopelessly inadequate. And, of these, Bengal has the miserable percentage of 15 to 20, and

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her most neglected sisters are Bombay and Madras, with a percentage of about 25.

So India has up to this time gained but little from the appearance of the food. We see here and there one or two satisfied consumers of it, but we find all around us numberless hungry aspirants to it. The hand which was once blessed by the people for its kindness in holding out to India the food that had given to education in Europe its health and vigour, is now being cursed for its extreme niggardliness with which it metes out the doles.

These niggardly measures, besides irritating the hunger of the members of the teaching profession, are tending to bring the food itself into disrepute among the public. We know that the average number of trained teachers per H. E. School is 1·9 in Bengal and 3·4 in Bombay, while most of the other provinces fare only a little better. What a course of training equips a teacher with, can therefore scarcely be employed by him in any scheme of his own for the advancement of his institution. For, it is absurd to expect that the institution will adopt *his* line of thinking, and partake of *his* character and tendencies, and not of his *untrained brethren* who constitute more than 95 per cent. of its teaching staff. Moreover, the failure of one or two attempts at innovations in his school is enough to rob the teacher of his optimism, and what is worse, to force him into a state of cynic lethargy, in which it is quite possible for him to prove of less service than when he was an untrained man. The belief that trained teachers are sometimes worse than untrained ones, though a paradox on the face of it, is not without its significance in our country. Circumstances have rather made it here an unfortunate truth, though it is *not* the trained but the *inadequate provision* for training that is responsible for this state of things. The good food, though impeccable in itself, is helplessly insufficient to leaven the diet on which education in India lives. Its dietary still consists overwhelmingly of unsubstantial elements: it is yet pathetically deficient in its vitamin content; and hence its unremedied sickliness.

The extreme apathy of the Government to the pay and prospects of teachers is indeed a factor, which, together with their parsimonious doling out of the commodity of training, has been responsible for the scanty good that the training of teachers has done to education in India. Teachers, after they have had their Degree or Diploma in Teaching, find themselves scarcely better off than when they were

without it. And the disappointment cannot but prove too strong for their zeal in their profession. All the good that their training has done to them, is, they soon find, to have fortified them, to some extent, against the whims and caprices of the Managing Committee, and to have given them a better chance of success than untrained men in the race for jobs. Training has therefore come to be sought rather as a stamp which would save the bearer of it at the time of the reduction of the staff, and make him unlikely to be overlooked when there is some increment of pay. What then is there to surprise us if the training of teachers in India has failed to achieve its object ?

One more cause has contributed appreciably to this failure. It is the excessive stress on the *technique of teaching* that is demanded of the teacher while under training to the utter disregard of the *artist* in him. To think that teachers are mere automatons—that a course of training is intended only to wind them up into mere machines of methods—has been one of the greatest injustices done to education in India. And the pity of it is that even men of education and authority are sometimes guilty of this injustice. They care not to give any thought to the main principle of education, and are duped by the belief that the only requisite of a good teacher is the rigid observance of the particular modes and methods stressed in Training Colleges. They forget that education to be effective must respect principles more than methods, and must give to the teacher a wider scope with regard to the latter. *Individuality* must be regarded as " the supreme educational ideal." To disregard it in the teacher, as in other factors in education, is the greatest disservice to education itself. " We must stress individuality in education, individuality of the pupil, of the teacher, of the school . . . for, indeed, it is the key position of all. If this position is lost, all is lost." But teachers in India are scarcely encouraged to be individual; indeed they invite personal dangers as soon as they show the slightest deviation from an established generality. Can then the poor teacher be blamed if, rather than lose his job, he surrenders his individuality, and rather than " value himself as the inheritor of the gifts and surroundins that are focussed in him, and which it is his business to raise to their highest possible power," he regards himself as the blind imitator of an outworm practice, and a dumb member of an organisation the ways and manners of which are fixed and set for ever, and which, in truth, is " heavy as frost, and deep almost as life " ?

In dealing with the subject of the training of teachers in India one cannot fail to be struck by the lamentable fact that pitiably small as the number of trained men is, the actual *use* made of their training is more pitiable still. Their training fails miserably to make itself felt in the practice of education in the country, and to raise its standard. What then is the good of maintaining the few training institutions that the country has ? Better have no training at all than having a useless and unprofitable training ! For, besides entailing loss of resources and energy, such training does something worse—it creates a disrespect for the prospective consumer than his failure to procure the food. But are we then to do away with the training of teachers altogether ? No, we should not. And, indeed, we cannot ; for, we have tasted the food, and come to know how good it is. We must not forego it, but do all we can to get the good out of it. And, for this, the first thing necessary is to increase its production. We have to provide for greater and more extensive facilities for training. It has already been shown how the extreme dearth of trained teachers is defeating the purpose of training in India. Trained men must be the *majority*, and not the hopeless minority, of the teaching staff of an institution, if they are to employ the fruits of their training in the service of the country. Otherwise, these fruits, as already hinted, will be blasted by the cold breath of conservatism, and will never please the public palate.

To get an adequate number of trained teachers for the secondary schools in India, we would require *several times* the existing number of Training Colleges. The opening of fresh Training Colleges has long been overdue, but Government are still sleeping over the matter. Their lukewarm attitude is really to be regretted, since it has been frustrating the very object for which the training institutions are maintained by them. It is time, therefore, that they should rise equal to the occasion, and add appreciably to the number of Training Colleges without any further delay.

A very noteworthy step towards the supply of trained teachers has been taken by the University of Calcutta in opening *Short Training courses*. Though these courses usually extend over a period of three months only, they are immeasurably efficacious in providing our secondary schools with really trained men. The other Universities of India will do a great deal in solving the problem of the training of teachers if they follow the example of the Calcutta University with

necessary adaptations according to their own particular needs and resources.

A teacher's training, however long and elaborate, can never be *completed* within a given time. The nine-month course in Training Colleges cannot complete his training, nor would it do so even if this nine-month course were extended to one of two years. A teacher is to train himself all his life ; the Training College does only initiate him into the task of *self-training*, and it is his duty to pursue this task all through his life. The Short Training courses of the University can initiate their students into the task of self-training just as well as the full-fledged Training Colleges would do ; and the shortness of the period proves rather a more effective prelude to further study and research than longer courses which rather tend to create in the minds of students a *false sense of completeness*. Hence the opening of Short Training courses on the lines of those started by the Calcutta University should be increasingly resorted to for securing an increased supply of trained teachers. Of course, this will not obviate the necessity, nor should discourage the establishment, of fresh Training Colleges by Government, for most of the Universities suffer from lack of funds, and can scarcely afford to add to their establishment. Moreover, if Training Colleges exist side by side with Training Departments attached to Universities, each may learn something from the other, and thereby accelerate the growth of educational knowledge in the country.

But the increasing demand for training calls for other devices than the above two. Time has come when it should engage the serious attention of Government and the Universities as to whether Training Departments can be appended to the first-grade colleges under the University and specially to those situated in mofussil towns. It is quite probable that many such colleges will be found competent and suitable for the experiment—of course, with necessary help from Government and with co-operation from the Universities.

The organisation of practice-teaching for a month or so for students of training departments in these colleges may present some difficulty. But it should be remembered that what counts for most in training is the *principles of education* and not methods. Methods can never be imbibed to any real advantage from others ; they are to be developed and perfected by the individuals themselves. A teacher may profit from demonstrations by others, but it is difficult to say whether he always profits from being made to conform to certain

standard methods in the practice of teaching for a given period of time. It must not, however, be understood that his examiners insist on his conforming to these methods, but the thought of the examination is there, and the student can scarcely get rid of the notion that the best way to please the examiners is to show rigid adherence to those methods. They, therefore, surrender something which their examiners would rather insist on their retaining, *i.e., individuality*. Whether the institution of practice-teaching for students in training courses is an unmixed good for all is, therefore, a question deserving the serious consideration of educationists.

Be that as it may. Let us, for the present, provide for practice-teaching wherever possible. Where circumstances will not permit such provision, let the students go without it, and be allowed to sit for the theoretical portion of the University examination. Those who will attain a certain *distinction* in that examination may quite reasonably be allowed to pass after an oral and practical test. Their distinctions will be a guarantee that they have in them a useful type of individuality for the teaching profession—an individuality, which, with the knowledge of the principles of education gained by them, will develop for their use—a method which is just the one that can make them give their best to society. Those that fail to attain this distinction may be subjected to a course of practice-teaching in order to make sure that they also will prove useful members of the teaching profession. The elimination of practice-teaching, wherever permissible, will render the opening of training departments in colleges for general instruction a much easier thing, and will thus swell the number of the trained.

It is an admitted fact that trained teachers are a greater necessity for *primary schools* than for secondary schools. The training departments attached to colleges for general instruction may provide training courses for primary school teachers, provided, of course, none is admitted for such training who has not passed the *Matriculation examination*. The condition of instruction in primary schools is really deplorable, and most of the defects of secondary and higher education in India are traceable to it. So the time has come when those that have not passed the Matriculation examination should not ordinarily be allowed to teach in primary schools.

The satisfactory increase of the number of trained teachers, though the most important requisite for making the training of

teachers a profitable national institution, is not, however, the only requisite. As has already been hinted, the extreme apathy of Government to the teachers' lot has to be shaken off. Otherwise, it is a sheer wastage to spend money and energy for the training of teachers here. For, a teacher whose training has brought him little or no material gain, loses much more in zeal and energy than he gains in knowledge ; and, therefore, he can never prove a better member of this profession after his training than before that.

The putting of undue fetters on the teacher by encouraging and even prescribing *particular methods* of teaching is, as we have seen, another potent factor in undoing the good to be derived from the training of teachers. It is time that we should be awakened to the truth that " nothing good enters into the human world except in and through the free activities of individual men and women." Let us train the teacher, but let us not train him to be merely a faithful demonstrator of certain methods. Let him be encouraged in his school to develop his own individuality as a teacher, and it is then that he will give his best to the world. He has been equipped with a knowledge of the vital parts of education ; let him utilize that knowledge in nursing education, but let him nurse it in his own way. Who knows that he will not then be able to discover for his nurseling a food which will take the fancy of nurses of education all over the world ?

This takes us to the consideration of one vital defect of the existing system of training in India. It is the virtual absence of facilities for *research* in education. We have, as it were, reared a child, but denied him the opportunities for attaining greatness in life. And the child, therefore, is now of very indifferent help to us.

It is highly necessary that there should be adequate facilities for educational research in the Training Colleges and in Universities, and that such distinctions as the Master's degrees in Education should be instituted. And teachers all over the country should be encouraged to strive for such distinctions. The deserving candidates should be freely given all possible opportunities for research, and the best men should be ungrudgingly picked up for the best jobs. Bright prospects will then smile before all enthusiastic members of the teaching profession ; teachers will then learn to look ahead of them, to think and to dream, and we all know that *dreamers* are sometimes *creators*. One of the most tragic things for present-day India is that her teachers have been rendered totally incapabie of dreams.

A NOTE ON RAGHUNATHJI ANGRIA

S. N. Sen, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon.)
New Delhi

WHILE examining the Portuguese records at Goa in 1925 I came across three letters addressed to one Raghunathji Angria whom I could not identify at the time. In my report on the historical records at Goa I made the following observations:

"We cannot conclude this section without making a reference to another Angria who bore the same name as the Lord of Colaba. We come across three letters addressed to him in the 11th volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*. He is differently called Raghuji and Raghunathji, but he is styled as '*Cabo da Armada de Aidar Aly Can*' or Captain of Haidar Ali's fleet. It is possible that a scion of the Angria family had entered Haidar's service after the fall of Gheria. We know nothing however about Haidar Ali's Captain Raghuji. It will be somewhat rash to identify him with the Lord of Colaba. For while the one is distinctly styled as *Cabo da Armada de Aidar Aly*, the other is always mentioned as Lord of Colaba probably to distinguish him from his less exalted namesake. He might be closely related to Tulaji whose line became extinct according to the *Patre Yadi* account. It is needless to say that Haidar would gladly welcome an Angria in his country and put him in charge of his fleet as the reputation of this family of seamen as intrepid naval leaders had spread all over the Deccan."

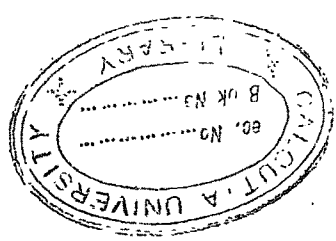
I referred to Raghunath again on pages 230-31 of my '*Military System of the Marathas*,' where I wrote: "The last days of Tulaji were spent as a prisoner of the Peshwa. After his death his sons managed to reach Bombay, but all trace of them from that date is lost. The Portuguese papers mention a Raghunath Angria, who was a Captain in Hyder Ali's fleet, but there is no evidence forthcoming of his relation to Tulaji."

Recently my attention has been drawn by my friend and pupil Dr. P. C. Gupta of the Calcutta University to a letter of "Ragoonathji Angria" preserved among the Bombay records which go a long way to prove that Raghunathji Angria of the Portuguese records might

after all be a son and heir of Tulaji Angria. The relevant portion of the letter runs as follows:

" .....Toolaji Angria my father was in possession of Gheria and the coast and forts in the Concon situated between that place and Bombay which is now in possession of the Mahrattas. I, who am the lineal descendant of Toolajee Angria, am now in the greatest distress. The English have always endeavoured to root out their enemies and have extended their protection to those who chose to live peaceably under their government. The Mahrattas of themselves never would have conquered and taken our forts and stronghold in the Concon, had they not been assisted by the English whose ships of war and ships came to their aid. The country was afterwards given up by the English to the Mahrattas, since which I have been a wandering and in distress and have written this to intimate to you, that it is my wish to place myself under the protection of his Brittanic Masters flag and should any difference take place between the English Company and Poona Government I will then join the former and will procure a large force to assist....."

The letter was dated 3rd August, 1800 and the identity of name and proximity of time naturally lead us to conclude that the writer was no other than our old friend Raghunath of the Portuguese records. We know that after Tulaji's death his sons managed to reach Bombay. Obviously one of them travelled south and found employment in Haidar Ali's fleet. In 1800 he addressed the letter, quoted above, to the Government of Bombay and tried to revive his claim to his father's fief. Although we know nothing more about him, scraps of information thus collected may throw fresh light on the later history of the house of Angria.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ADDRESS *

MR. PRINCIPAL, MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, GENTLEMEN AND STUDENTS OF THE CITY COLLEGE COMMERCE SOCIETY:

IT gives me great pleasure indeed to come this evening to this institution of yours on the occasion of the inaugural function of the City College Commerce Society; and believe me, I express my feelings in no terms of usual convention, but from the depth of my heart when I say that I cordially welcome this movement, this inauguration and start of a Commerce Society. I do not claim to be an educationist in that sense of the term in which scholars are known, nor do I claim that knowledge which is possessed by the leading men and women of the country; but being in contact for many years past with the various phases of human life in its diverse aspects, I am often tempted to ponder within myself as to what we are really striving after and what our ultimate goal is in the many lines of progress which we have made within the last few years. It is perfectly well-known to you that there was a time when the University of Calcutta was a mere examining body. In the train of its development and in the wake of progress that it made came multiple forms of post-graduate activities. All round the country there was, in the mean time, pulsation of a new life, and new movements sprung up everywhere giving dynamic energies to all in the country; and I feel that people then began to realize that it was not merely academic degrees but technical training that would bring a solution of the various problems of our country. Technical, professional, commercial and industrial fields are to be explored within the form and framework of the University. The Commerce Department and Commerce degrees have been inaugurated for many years past. Facilities for Technical degrees and diplomas are also available in the country. It is time that we should take stock of what has been the net gain to the country and consider what modifications are necessary in our methods of approach and in our activities so that these various departments of human life may be attuned to the national requirements of this country.

* Delivered by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the inaugural meeting of the City College Commerce Society, on the 17th February, 1940.

Somehow or other there are many things which bring within me feelings of restraint, and I am not able to say the things which I feel within myself, but this much I would certainly say that it is time for the people to find out that it is not merely by the attainment of degrees that the progress of a country can at all be made ; and that progress can only be secured by training up better types of students who, along with the attainment of academic degrees, will do something more in the matter of gathering knowledge which will enable them to face the realities of their business life. If you look around you, you will find in the city of Calcutta how greatly we are dependent upon other sources for our very existence. If we look around the province, the same feature will strike us. If you look around the country, the same factors would be found to be in operation. Commerce, trade and industry are so interconnected with one another that it is very difficult to find out the influence of the one on the other in a definite and determinate quantity ; but this much is certain that they are so interconnected that the success of the one depends upon the achievements of the other. We cannot have real commerce for a country unless there is development of trade and industry, and it is, therefore, necessary that the education that has been termed " Commercial " should bring along with it a realisation of the varying economic factors that have been in operation in this province.

I am saying this not merely because of the needs of the country, but because of your individual necessity. Most of us are familiar with the fact that after getting the highest academic degrees in Commerce, we do not know what to do with ourselves in after-life. This is so because the absorption of the best academic talents of a province can only be dependent upon a network of commercial, trading and industrial concerns in the province. I have made no secret of the fact that, even though the number of students that take the Commerce degree is much more than are actually absorbed, yet considering the province as a whole the number of passes is not such that we need not be ashamed of or embarrassed in any way. If a few thousands pass in a province like Bengal with a population over 50 millions and if all the economic factors were in operation, it would be quite easy for the Commerce Graduates to be absorbed in the various occupations of the country. You cannot remain content with others coming in with Capital, enterprise and leadership and condemning us to the life of mere clerks, as is often the fate of even the most brilliant graduates.

I have often been puzzled with certain economic problems. Bengal is the province which started the National Movement in India before any other province thought of it. There was a time when Bengal took to Swadeshi goods in such a mass manner that it was very difficult in the mofussil markets to get foreign commodities. Yet has anyone studied the reason why in spite of this upheaval of mass feelings and in spite of these mass movements and awakening of national consciousness—so far as the national feelings, patriotism and sentiment of the Bengalees are concerned with regard to the active development of trade and industry within the last few years—they have been exactly in the same condition as they were a few decades ago.

A very recent fact may have come to your notice. I am not giving the facts and figures in details to you; I believe it is the function of your Commerce Society to find them out. But you remember that within the last few years the policy of restriction of crops came into operation in Bengal. Jute was so much produced in this province that it was found necessary to raise the price of jute by restricting production; but along with it came the problem as to what was to be done with that quantity of land which would be thrown out of jute cultivation. It was found possible to divert it to the cultivation of sugarcane. Propaganda went on all over Bengal for the production of sugarcane. Within the last six or seven years a very large number of sugar factories have come into existence in Bengal. I ask the Commerce Society to find out how many of these concerns have been started by Bengalee Capital and Bengalee Talents. That feature is not merely prevalent in the sugar industry alone. Take the case of the district of Rangpur, from where we export probably crores of rupees worth of tobacco leaves to the various parts of India and abroad. Now, will anybody be able to tell me the name of any cigar or cigarette factory which has been started either at Rangpur or at Calcutta or in the province?

I believe it ought to be the duty of every Society which is connected with the study of Economics and the study of Commerce to find out the nature of the economic needs of the province and the extent to which they are supplied from within the province and the country. Most of you must have had opportunities, at some time or other, of visiting the various markets in Calcutta. I myself have the habit of frequenting the markets for getting the best things at the cheapest price possible. If you have your eyes open, you will find out even

to-day how many of the commodities in the various markets of Calcutta are brought from outside. Will anybody tell me whether there has been any attempt to study this fact either in the Department of Economics or in the Department of Commerce ? That cannot be done within the framework of the University curriculum, nor can the University possibly prescribe it ; but is not a certain duty cast upon all educational institutions to equip their students with that knowledge which is necessary for making them successful in after-life ? If to-day you go out, you will find that in many towns ordinary things like lemon, fruits, eggs, poultry and other commodities, which can easily be reared and produced in this province, are brought from outside. I am not for the time being saying that it will be the concern of the Commerce Society to start these things. But I want you to realise the facts and to find out the nature of the problems that confront us, and then, when you go out into the world, you will find it easier to tackle the specific problems of your business life. Probably there might be barely half a dozen who might think of doing something in that line, but the knowledge of actual market conditions is necessary and that knowledge can only be supplied by a Society like that which you have inaugurated this evening.

Speaking of the province of Bengal, what do you find but the astounding fact that we have to depend for nearly the entire textile industry upon the western presidency ? Bengal has to buy for internal consumption a very large amount of sugar. Now we have to get it from outside the province and possibly outside the country; and yet an economist will tell us that the soil of Bengal is quite suitable for the production of sugarcane, and that just about a century ago probably millions and millions of rupees worth of sugar used to be exported from our province. All that you have done so far is to have a complaint against British Imperialism that it has mercilessly exploited this country. I do not for a moment stand in the way of anyone who wants to entertain that idea, but my complaint is that along with it there should have been that real feeling—the urge of developing industries. We have national feeling in ourselves, but with a view to translating that into action we must develop industry and commerce and explore and exploit the other economic resources of the province.

I do not want to say much. I believe that there is nothing in the Bengalee character which stands in the way of a young man's doing his

best. I know hundreds of young men who are able to do their best if opportunities are afforded to them. Unfortunately, these opportunities are not brought before them and these young men waste the best part of their life after getting the highest academic qualifications of the University instead of being most useful citizens, and are oftentimes branded as economic misfits; and with an easy conscience people often like to lay the blame altogether on the University and the educational institutions. I am quite prepared to take the blame on myself on behalf of the University and on behalf of the educational institutions, but I want to point out that it is not the University alone that can solve the problem. The University cannot start factories, the University cannot supply capital. It is the persons who are the natural leaders of the public upon whom falls that responsibility.

That is exactly the situation to-day. But if to-day I am to tell you what your duty is for the time being, it is to study these facts. I wish there was a market survey of Calcutta by the students of the Economics and Commerce Departments, and I believe that the acquisition of that knowledge would be of immense help to them in afterlife. Often I am told that the general knowledge of the average student is meagre and poor, and the reason why it is so is because the student has no opportunity to come into contact with the realities of life. All he does is probably to come into contact with some Town Hall and Sraddhananda Park speeches ; but beyond that the hard realities of life are not studied by him. I believe the time has come for all educational institutions to realise this. It will be of no use to boast of thousands of students being Graduates and Masters of Arts and Science from the different colleges in Bengal. I believe the time has come now for every educational institution and every student to realise that. Along with the University the duty of formulating the future career of the students rests entirely upon the educational institutions and the best way in which that can be done is in a Society like this, to take the problems for discussion, to conduct enquiries, to explore and to investigate and, if necessary, to have from time to time debates. I have not said this in a spirit of complaint, I have not said this in a spirit of any feeling against any institution, I have said this because I genuinely feel that to-day the educational institutions of Bengal that have made Bengal what it is are to reshape their educational policy and activities. That is what I have got to tell, and, if I have come here this evening, it is because I desired to leave this feeling with you that

this is a task which is as much important as the academic work which you are taking up ; only, you have to make it successful in the proper manner without taking it merely as a by-work.

There is another reason why in Calcutta this is a great necessity. Mr. Principal, we are now faced with the problem of Calcutta being filled up with students from different parts of Bengal and a college with 3,000, 4,000 or 5,000 students is not a rare commodity to-day. I do not complain for the time being of that. I have my problems to deal with in other places. But supposing you have got 3,000 students and if you are to deliver lectures and get them passed in the examination, that supreme element in education, *viz.*, the personal contact between the professor and the student and between one student and another is completely lost unless some kind of social contact is introduced. After all, these young men are to go out into the world and if at this stage they do not know how to organize, how to study human character, and how to find out the real feelings of human beings, they will have to find it out later at a bitter cost. And it is for this reason that I have come here this evening and will come again, if necessary.

It is really a matter of great pleasure that City College has started this institution which might be of a very important factor in equipping the student with those facts which are absolutely necessary, even though he may be the best of students from the University point of view. I hope you will kindly realize that I have said this with a full sense of responsibility, because I believe that while the University is to control the general policy in the shaping of the future of the men and the women of this country, it must in the long run depend upon educational institutions for the manner in which the students are to be trained up in an atmosphere which will lead to the best development of the country as a whole.

I thank you for asking me to come this evening to preside over this inaugural meeting, and it is with very great pleasure that I declare this Society open.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Military College in Sind

A scheme for establishing a military college in Sind at a cost of rupees ten lakhs was considered by the sub-committee appointed for raising funds. It is proposed to open physical training classes at Sukkur to be named after P. Kunwar Ram who was shot dead during November last at a railway station. The committee will shortly issue an appeal to raise funds for the above.

The Visvabharati

Mr. Gandhi has replied to the letter which Dr. Rabindranath Tagore handed to him as he (Mr. Gandhi) left Santiniketan last month.

"The touching note put into my hands has gone straight to my heart," says Mr. Gandhi. "Of course the Visvabharati is a national institution. It is undoubtedly also international. You may depend upon my doing all I can in the common endeavour to assure its permanence. Though I have always regarded Santiniketan as my second home, this visit brought me nearer to it than ever before."

A. I. Oriental Conference

The 10th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Tirupati (Venkatesvara) in Madras during the Easter Holidays. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. Sukumar Sen. Dr. Dineschandra Sarkar, Dr. Narayanchandra Banerjee and Mr. Krishnapada Mitra joined the Conference from the Calcutta University.

Vidyasagar Smriti Mandir

To perpetuate the memory of the late Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, "Vidyasagar Smriti Mandir" has been founded in the village Birsingha in the district of Midnapur, the birthplace of the great savant. Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee inaugurated the opening ceremony of the 'Mandir' on Sunday, 17th March, at 2-30 P.M.

Mass Literacy Stall in the Congress Exhibition

The Provincial Mass Literacy Committee, Patna, put up in the Congress Exhibition a show of the work in the literacy campaign in the

province. Exhibits and charts, samples of handwriting of adults made literate and photos of literacy centres at work were there. The result of the examination of the adults conducted by Mr. A. A. Kazimi, Inspector of Schools, Chota Nagpur Division, Ranchi, was also among the exhibits.

The exhibition was due to the endeavours of Babu Jaigovind Prasad, Sub-Inspector of Schools at Ramgarh, and the credit goes to him for its success. He was in charge of the stall also.

This stall was unique of its kind. It drove away the doubts of many about the campaign. It proved that such a campaign is feasible, practicable and workable, provided it be properly organised and the man in charge be left free to carry on the movement.

Death of Lagerloeff

The death has occurred of Selma Lagerloeff, the first woman to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Selma Lagerloeff was born on November 20th, 1858, on the Marbaka estate in the parish of Ostra Emtervik, in Varmland. She came of a family of pastors, members of which had for three centuries been working in Varmland for the spiritual welfare of the population. At Stockholm Selma attended first a girls' " lyceum " and later a teachers' seminary, after which, for ten years, she held a teacher's appointment at Landscrona. At an early age she first felt the urge to write, and produced some smaller poems, mainly sonnets. Her poetic fancy was most strongly attracted by the " saga " of Gosta Berling, a " forgotten fragment of Swedish country life," intimately connected with her own homelands; fantastic scenes of this tale occupied her imagination. In 1889 and 1890 she worked out individual chapters and later sent them as " Ur Gosta Berlings saga " to the periodical " Idun," which had offered a prize for a short story.

She won the prize, which acted as an incentive to her to follow her literary bent. " Gosta Berling " was completed, appearing in Swedish in 1891 and in Danish in the following year. It was followed in 1894 by a volume of short stories, " Osynliga lankar " (" Invisible Bonds ") and the authoress was accorded encouraging support by King Oscar and, in the form of a scholarship, by the Swedish Academy. Relieved of the necessity to teach, she first undertook a journey through Italy, for the purpose of study, in 1895-96.

The novel " Antikrists mirakler," compiled as the fruit of her Italian journey was published in 1897. It revealed that religious mysticism which came forth so pronouncedly in the following " Legends of Christ," dealing at the same time with the problem of the religious sects so prominently active in Sweden. She visited the Swedish farmers in their new Palestinian home in 1900; the following year saw the appearance of the first volume (" In Dalarne ') of her great peasant epos ' Jerusalem," depicting the events up to the time of emigration (from Dalarne to Palestine). This was followed in 1902 by the second volume " In the Holy Land." The " Kristuslegender " appeared in 1904. She produced her great epic narrative " Liliecronas Hem " in 1911 and after that " Herr Arnes Penningar," " Herrgardssagen " and " The Carter of Death " (all in 1912) and " Homesick Jan" (1914). Her works: " Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige " (1906-07), " The General's Ring," " Charlotte Lofvenskold (both in 1925).

Selma Lagerloeff's writings appeared in a collected form in twelve volumes as " Samlade Berattelser " as from 1911. They have been translated into all civilised languages, and have carried the fame of the authoress far beyond the Swedish frontiers. Her growing popularity brought her an increasing number of distinctions. The literary societies of Sweden and Finland were the first to elect her their honorary member ; in 1907 the University of Uppsala conferred upon her the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the following year her fiftieth birthday was celebrated throughout Sweden like a national holiday and again one year later she was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature by the Swedish Academy, of which body she finally became a member in 1914, the first woman on whom this honour was conferred."

Miscellany

DEGREES IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION

In Gaston Buthoul's analysis the varieties of human society are not as different from one another as the animal species. He accepts the position of Comte as established in *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (1830) where it is maintained that the differences between diverse societies are those of *degree* in evolution and not those of *kind*. Comte's thesis was challenged by Durkheim in *Les Règles de la Methode Sociologique* (1895). According to Durkheim social development loses the ideal and simplicist unity attributed to it. It is to be described rather as a multitude of fragments, which, because they differ specifically from one another, should not be brought together in a continuous manner. Bouthoul believes that the most recent experience is in favour of Comte rather than of Durkheim. On the strength of data furnished by Maunier in *Sociologie Coloniale* Bouthoul argues that the tendency to imitation and borrowing has been stronger than that of pursuing an evolution *sui generis*. The sociology of Durkheim is as erroneous in regard to this as to several other items. For, it is incontestable that during the last fifty years the most recent features of occidental civilization have been adopted *en masse* by peoples up till now primitive or far removed from it as much on account of racial as of historical and geographical considerations.

" Le Role du Raisonnement par Analogie dans les Science Sociales " in *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris), September-December, 1939.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

IDEOLOGY *vs.* EMPIRICISM IN POLITICS

Writing on " Introduction à la Politique Expérimentale " in the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris) for September-December, 1939, Professor André Joussain says in part as follows:

The progress of democratic ideas demands on the part of the people no guarantee of knowledge and competence but entrusts them to the blind choice of the masses. It is the law of the majority they follow. The consequence is to assure the preponderance of the less instructed over the more instructed and of the mediocre over the persons of value. The masses are moved by simple sentiments and controlled by short ideas. The regime of ideologies (as contrasted with " experimental politics " or political science) has power over them. It is not for the masses to take interest in the methodical examination of questions, the slow maturation of plans, the weighing of advantages and inconveniences such as may arise out of a measure accepted or a law enacted. Every reflection is an individual function whereas unanimity belongs only to the agreement with an idea broached or a measure proposed.

The predominance of "ideologies," howsoever perilous it be, is but a necessary transition. In the earlier phases of political history the European peoples functioned according to routine or custom and instinct. That was the regime of empiricism. The second phase is that of ideology. Under this system the peoples are alleged to be making their institutions according to an abstract reason and rationalized will. This stage is but a preparation for the third, that of *politique expérimentale*. In this regime the problem consists in determining scientifically the institutions the most adapted to a people or to a given condition of civilization.

The transition to experimental politics is attended with crises. The increasing complexity of social and political questions offers multiplicity of alternatives. Chances are offered as much to the individual initiatives of statesmen as to the blind sentiments of the masses. But since routine, custom and instinct are no longer the directing forces the masses while making their choice and enjoying liberty of action tend to make a false choice. The risks of error multiply and some of these errors take the form of choosing an ideology.

All social life implies at bottom a mystical faith in the benefit rendered by the established order. Every political condition is likewise based on a mystical faith, *e.g.*, in the divine right of kings, the sovereignty of the people, the political science of the leaders, the virtue of the institutions in existence, etc. This position has been verified by the recent revolutions, for instance, the mysticism of the Roman greatness in Fascist Italy, of the race in Nazi Germany, and of the proletariat and five-year plan in Soviet Russia. No mysticism, no society.

As soon as mysticism is replaced by ideology the world witnesses the emergence of *anarchie intellectuelle*. This condition of intellectual anarchy can be removed by a system of national education which teaches a person, using the words of Guizot in *Démocratie en France*, not to *voir ce qu'on désire et non qui est* (see what is desired and not what is) because by getting used to see only what is people learn also to wish what may be (*à ne voir que ce qui est on apprend aussi à ne vouloir que ce qui se peut*).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

"GREATER INDIA" IN INDONESIA

According to Mr. O. C Gangoly, art-historian and art-critic, lecturing on Indonesian culture at the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture (Calcutta), the general public has very vague ideas about the problems of the studies and the data, the materials and the significance of the documents available in the Indian "Colonies" relating to the history of Indian culture across the Bay of Bengal. According to the interpretation put by European scholars—in analysing and appraising the quality and character of Indonesian culture, it is the product and expression of the native aboriginal and non-Aryan genius in civilization under the "influences" of culture—which intruded into Malaya, Cambodia, Java and Sumatra about the early centuries of the Christian era. The principal basis of this view is provided by the original and supremely refined character of the architectural and sculptural monuments in Greater India—which far outshine their prototypes in the main continent. They are also characterized by certain local features and motifs—which give to these

oversea monuments and plastic products, sometimes a wholly different and divergent physiognomy. This phenomenon of certain flagrant original and novel features of Indonesian culture—analogous to, yet different from original Indian prototypes—is explained by a theory of European specialists on these subjects to the effect that they are the product of a native Malaya-Polynesian genius acting under the "influences" of Indian cultural forms and that the great masterpieces of Java and Cambodia in architecture, sculpture and the various forms of applied art are is the expressions of a very happy fusion of the Indian and Indonesian mind—which cannot be designated as wholly *Indian*, but can only be characterized as "Indo-Khmer," "Indo-Javanese," or "Indo-Chinese."

The opponents of this view, which has excited keen controversy amongst Indian scholars, attack this interpretation by pointing out the utter lack of any material evidence of the quality and character of the local, native, or indigenous expression of the aboriginal art before the introduction of Indian ideas and ideals and the forms and canons of architectural and sculptural arts from India proper, and, the fact that the local and indigenous forms and motifs do not come into view—until after the decadence or the ebbing away of Indian culture—which had thoroughly overrun and superceded the native genius—if it at all existed at the time of the Indian immigration. According to Indian views—the so-called Colonial culture in various tracts in Greater India is a part, and, an *essential* part of the context of Indian culture, and even in ancient times the territories beyond the Indian Ocean were regarded by the inhabitants of the Indian continent as integral parts of Indian culture-area, not mere "Colonies" of provincial, local, Indianized, or Indianesque culture. In fact they were the very limbs of India expanding itself beyond the seas with all the characteristics and essential qualities of Indian life and culture, growing and sustaining itself in new environments. The immigrants from Continental India who flowed into Indonesia and Indo-China in large bodies and units, "*en masse*," were in vital touch with the original sources of their culture and assiduously kept up the level of Indian culture in these so-called colonies at a high pitch of excellence and in some phases (*e.g.*, in the plastic arts) outshone the achievements at their original birth-place. The "Colonists" did not look upon these distant centres across the seas as mere inferior reflexions of Indian culture—derived second-hand from continental sources, but, in many instances, as independent seats and sources, as they developed the overseas centres into the most important limbs and significant centres of the best phases of Indian civilization That some of the cities in the colonies were specialized centres of some phases of Indian culture of *greater* importance than the conitnental centres, may be illustrated from the fact that Atisa (Dipankara Srijnana), the greatest Buddhist Patriarch, had to reside in *Suvarna-dvipa* (Sumatra), then the headquarters of Mahayana Buddhism, in order to master the teachings of Acharyya Dharmmakirti, the High Priest of *Suvarna-dvipa*, at that time, the highest authority on the doctrines of the Mahayana.

In corroboration of this view Mr. Gangoly cited several texts from the *Puranas* which proved that the nine overseas tracts of Greater India were regarded in the early Sagas as integral parts of Bharatavarsa and an equal sanctity attached to the component parts of Island-India, as strongholds of national Indian culture—where Indians lived, fought, traded and performed religious duties (*Yajnas*, *Tapas*, etc.) and they were looked upon as suitable areas for their cultural activity (*Karmabhumi*) on an equal

footing with any part of India Proper (*Jambudvipa*). Mr. Gangoly substantiated this view by a very significant passage in the *Vamana Purana* which asserts that " the nine islands (nine tracts of Greater India) have been sanctified by the performance of sacrifices, by warfares, by trades and diverse other cultural activities (" *Ijya-Yuddha-Vanijyadyaih-karmabhih kritapavanah* "). The point established is that the intervening seas did not prevent the distant territorities in Island-India from being actually placed on the map of Indian culture.

Put into modern parlance, the canon of sanctity laid down in the *Vamana Purana* would mean that, wherever the Indians have lived, wherever they have fought their heroic battles, wherever they have rendered their homage to the Divinity through sacrificial rites—*there* they have built up a New India. *That* is India, where Indians have lived and developed Indian culture! This is, in short, the principle of Indian colonization.

Mr. Gangoly cited another corroboration of this view from the evidences of Arab geographers of the 10th century and as further proof cited a remarkable passage from the text of a newly discovered drama, the *Kaumudi-Mahotsava* (attributed to Vijika, a lady dramatist of the 7th century) which describes a Rake's progress, through the six famous cities of ancient India, in search of a gay life—an itinerary which includes the *Katha-nagara* (in far-off Malaya), the " home of all felicities "—mentioned in the same breath with five other continental cities, famous in contemporary social life and social history.

On the basis of the new evidences brought forth by Mr. Gangoly, he claimed that the theory of a group of scholars of the so-called " Indian Influences " in Greater India demands a serious modification. It is not a question of " influences," he pleaded, it is a question of wholesale transportation of the peculiar features and phases of Indian culture, bag and baggage, in all its characteristic elements, with all its social and religious polities, its trade-guilds and industrial systems, its canons of architecture and sculpture. Indian culture in Indonesia is, in fact, a substantial and integral part of the original context of Indian civilization—developed in new, congenial, and luxurious environments.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE AGRICULTURAL AND MARKETING POLICIES OF HOLLAND

The Netherlands have continued to move away from the principles of free trade which was the basis of their commercial policy for about 80 years. The Act modifying the 1934 law, which gave the Government power to alter the customs tariff, came into force in January, 1939. By this law the Government may impose or alter a duty, with immediate effect and for a period of not more than 6 months, with a view to increasing the State revenues or of giving limited protection to Dutch industries. In the 1934 law this power was confined to the case of a national industry threatened with ruin. An increase in the number of tariff duties was imposed by Royal Decree as from 1st March, 1939. This measure was taken to increase the difference between duties on raw materials and semi-manufactured goods on the one hand, and manufactured goods on the other. Several new commercial agreements were concluded, but generally these only succeeded in mitigating certain restrictions imposed abroad on agricultural exports from the Netherlands, no new markets being opened up.

The trade agreements between the United States and the United Kingdom and the United States and Canada have reduced certain duties, from which the Netherlands will benefit owing to the most-favoured-nation clause.

At the end of last August, when war had become imminent, the Government took preventive measures to assure national supplies, by prohibiting the export of numerous products. The measures were based on the law of 3rd August, 1914, later modified, on exportation in case of war, or danger of war. To avoid restricting trade too much, prohibitions were at first applied only to industrial products. As regards exports of agricultural products, they are regulated by the intermediary of various centrals which apply the measures based on the 1933 agricultural crisis law. These centrals have had to cancel agreements which allowed the exportation of products in which they deal, and replace them, if necessary, by new ones. Further, honey and other products of agriculture, cocoa beans and kernels, hay and straw, tea, coffee, and casein were declared agricultural crisis products. All the agricultural crisis products, which now meant practically all agricultural products, may be imported or exported only by the various centrals or with their special permission. Export of the following products of interest to agriculture has been forbidden in virtue of the above-mentioned law of 3rd August, 1914: wool, flax fibre, natural and artificial nitrate of soda, calcium cyanamide, all other chemical fertilizers, skins, hides and leathers ; wood cellulose and all types of wood ; bones, animal droppings ; natural rubber, latex and regenerated rubber, balata, guttapercha, cinchona bark. Export permits must be granted in these special cases by the Crisis Export Bureau which was already in existence to regulate the export trade with countries which had applied quotas to imports of Netherlands products.

On 12th September the law on imports in time of danger came into force. By this law imports of goods indicated by the Government are forbidden, unless provided with a special permit from the Minister of Economic Affairs, or his representative. To regulate such imports a new organization has been set up, the General Netherlands Central for Imports.

In view of the international situation the Government at the end September, 1938, put forward eleven bills which became law. Six of them referred to agriculture. Some of them were later replaced by other laws passed after a more thorough study of their consequences. The principal are described below together with the measures taken to put them into effect.

The 1939 law on agricultural production makes it possible to prescribe methods, etc., both general and detailed, for arable farming, horticulture, fruit-growing, forestry, the cultivation of meadows and grazing lands, the raising of live-stock and poultry. Further, orders may be issued as to the use of the land.

The Government did not at once issue precise instructions regarding the development of agriculture. It realises the necessity under present circumstances of some degree of autarchy, but does not wish to alter the agricultural system too radically, hoping that later on the Netherlands will again be called on to supply high quality products to the great industrial centres in neighbouring countries. It has therefore confined itself to making the following proposals: Grazing lands which, owing to their position, nature, etc., give grounds for expecting that they would give good returns as arable will be ploughed up and used for this purpose. Persons making

such a change-over will receive larger quantities of concentrated feeding-stuffs if they cultivate cereals on their new arable fields. Potatoes and other hoed plants harvested on these new fields for daily consumption will not be claimed for general marketing. If the area converted under these conditions is insufficient, conversion will become compulsory. The preparation of new grazing lands, whether artificial or permanent, will only be permitted on condition that an equal area of grazing land is ploughed up. Only the cultivation of products which supply human or animal food will remain free. Crops of other types will be subject to special permits.

Another series of measures relates to excessive prices and the distribution of available supplies. These measures are based on the 1939 law of distribution and the 1939 law on excessive prices and cornering. The first gives the Minister of Economic Affairs the power to regulate the quantities to be distributed, in agreement with the Minister of National Defence as regards the quantities which must be retained for the troops. The use, consumption, preparation, processing and transport of goods dealt with in this law may also be regulated. Further, detailed inventories may be required. The second law refers to all movable goods, the Minister of Economic Affairs having the right to prescribe the limits of sale and hire prices of these goods, and the prices of services. The law also forbids excessive prices even for goods and services for which no decision has been published.

Immediately after mobilization an inventory of all agricultural products, stock and fodders was carried out, indepenently of where they were situated. Later. another inventory was taken for chemical fertilizers, but this did not include farmers' stocks for their own farms.

A special Bureau for the Purchase of Cereals (*Graan Inkoop Bureau*) was set up under the Netherlands Central for Arable Land. This buys human and animal foods from abroad. If necessary, the supervision of the wholesale trade for all articles for which it takes place will in time of war be in the hands of this supply office. This office will also regulate these wholesale prices of agricultural products. Distribution between the consumers is dealt with by the Central Distributing Bureau, a body which is in close touch with the retailers' organization. Such distribution will take place not only in case of scarcity but whenever there is danger of cornering.

At the beginning of October an order regulating the distribution of chemical fertilizers (except for those with a calcium base) came into force. Their sale and supply are henceforth limited to persons registered with the Chemical Fertilizers Distribution Office. Farmers will only be allowed to buy fertilizers by means of special coupons.

Regulations have been drawn up fixing the quantities of concentrated feeding stuffs for cattle allowed to the farmers. By the law on distribution, the transport of these fodders is prohibited ; but this prohibition does not apply to the quantities allowed to the farmers.—*International Review of Agriculture.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE STRENGTH OF ITALIAN INDUSTRY

The Italian industrial forces to-day consist, according to the statistics of the Fascist Confederation of Industrialists, of 150,278 purely industrial

firms, having 3,595,840 employees, to which must be added 758,982 artisanship concerns, with 229,702 subordinates.

The total of capital invested in these undertakings may be valued at not less than 110 milliards of lire. Small industry as a whole accounts for nine-tenths of the firms. Out of the 150,000 industrial enterprises, 107,000 (equal to 71 per cent.) have in fact less than 11 employees, and 31,000 (equal to 21 per cent.) from 11 to 50 workers.

Medium industry, represented by the concerns with more than 50 and up to 250 subordinates, consists of 9,920 firms with 1,024,402 workers.

Large-scale industry consists in its turn of 1,153 firms employing 1,532,675 workers.

43 per cent. of the firms is located in the countries of Northern Italy, 27 per cent. in Central Italy and the remainder in the South and the Islands.

The building industry is represented by 35,000 firms, with 623,000 workers; the food industry as a whole by 40,011 firms with 389,000 subordinates; the mechanical and metallurgical industries by 9,317 firms with 709,000 workers; building materials industry by 4,748 firms with 541,000 workers; textile industries by 6,907 firms, with 653,142 employees; the chemical industries by 4,565 firms with 155,192 workers.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Red Pilot.—By Vladimir Unishevsky. Published by Hurst and Blackett. Pp. 260. *7s. 6d.*

The author, son of a skilled worker in Leningrad, nursed an ambition since his early days: his dream was to be an airman in the U.S.S.R. From Leningrad District Glider School, where he first got himself admitted, he passed on to the Leningrad Flying School and finally joined the Sebostopol Flying College from which members of the Russian Air Force are recruited. He was appointed an officer in the Air Force and was taking, further training at Sebostopol when Kirov, the trusted collaborator of Stalin, was assassinated in Leningrad. This bloody deed created the greatest sensation in Russia. One evening Unishevsky with two other friends were sitting in the canteen talking about the murder as usual. Unishevsky said: "I say, you chaps, wouldn't Kaganovitch have been jolly pleased if it had been Stalin instead of Kirov?" The other two laughed heartily, and the subject was dropped. That same evening he was summoned by the authorities and questioned for the indiscreet remark and was finally "demobilised on account of political and moral unsuitability," by the orders of the Air Force Administration of the U.S.S.R. He was, it is alleged in the book, a victim of the Ogpu; and the secret police made his life in Russia intolerable. Ultimately in February, 1938, Unishevsky with another officer of the Red Army named Guryev escaped from Soviet Russia in a barely airworthy machine and landed in Esthonia. The difficulties through which they went in assembling a machine for the purpose of their escape and the adventurous flight are described by the author in a simple but arresting manner.

The book is intended to be an indictment of Soviet Russia. But it is hardly a convincing one. In the first place, even after Unishevsky's demobilisation on moral and political grounds we find him employed in an influential civil position as the Director of a Flying Club, the Luga Children's Aero Club, which became famous throughout Russia and won for the author a country-wide fame. Had the Ogpu been as oppressive and vindictive as he alleges, he would not have been able, in the circumstances, to secure the position or to make himself the success he was as the Head of the Luga Aero Club. His temper and tactlessness brought him into conflict with the agents of the Communist Party. An impartial enquiry vindicated him and later on he resigned of his own free will. Next, he was appointed manager of the Air Port at Krestzy, an important Air Service Station. The air-line was discontinued and Unishevsky was out of employment. Thirdly, he was appointed Deputy Manager of a Motor Department; with this new post he combined two others, management of a Transport Service and the management of the garage of a Mental Hospital. "The fact that one person could occupy three posts at once in the U.S.S.R. was due to the great scarcity of people with technical knowledge." But does it not also prove that the Ogpu and the Communist Party were not so unkind to him, after all, as he alleges. After the Tuchatchevsky affair, resulting in a thorough purge of the Red Army, Unishevsky was restored as "a Flight-Commander in the Reserves." It appears, therefore, that the established order in Russia had passed over his "political and moral unsuitability."

After this came his father's arrest in Leningrad. He had by now elbowed himself into the managership of a Provision Department of a Building Trust and was shortly afterwards appointed to a post in the Luga Aero

Club where his former pupil and friend Guryev was also working. For three months after his father's arrest the Ogpu took no notice of Unishevsky. But he was apprehending trouble and had made preparations for his escape with Guryev. He was once asked to see a member of the secret police; he suspected danger and the very day flew across the frontier to Esthonia. Disinterested critics will not hesitate to conclude that the Red Pilot has not been able to prove his case.

The author describes the Russian industrial and agricultural system as a chaos. In his opinion the air force is disorganised, and the army inefficient though pampered. The author concludes: "The Soviet Regime in Russia is rotten through and through. The rottenness has crept into every sphere of life, from the education of the child to the workings of the State. The old has been destroyed, but the new is rotten at the root. The system of the Soviet State, the 'Proletarian Dictatorship,' has resulted in one fiasco after another. The misery and persecution suffered by the Russian, his transformation into a helpless object of exploitation by alien rulers, have provoked a growing discontent. . . . The regime counters this discontent by Terror. Fresh waves of Red Terror are for ever sweeping over the country; . . . the masses of the people replied with a Terror of their own, known in official Soviet language as 'wrecking.' . . . The peasant is not free; he is a hard-labourer all his days. The worker is being tied to his place of employment. The deluded population in town and country writhes in physical and spiritual torment. The Ogpu, the unscrupulous executioner of the regime, celebrates orgies of blood and madness; and meanwhile the oppressed and impoverished white slaves abroad are being represented by Jewish members of the Russian 'Intelligentsia'—under the blood-stained red banner of the hammer and sickle."

Such is the sweeping condemnation of the Soviet regime. But one would perhaps better accept the sober estimate of Sidney Webb rather than listen to the effusions of refugees who have a grudge against the Soviet order. One of the worst features of the book is its ill-disguised anti-Semetism; some of the chapters are as follows: 'Only one Jew—the Commissar,' 'Can a Jew fly ?' Anti-Jewish sentiments darken many of the pages of the book and takes away a good deal from its effectiveness.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA.

Science and Politics in the Ancient World.—By Benjamin Farrington. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 243. 10*s*. 6*d*.

In the very first sentence of the book Professor Farrington introduces the connection between science and politics with reference to a modern illustration: "Haeckel, by stressing the application to man of Darwin's theory of the Origin of Species, finds that he has transformed himself from a pure scientist into a politician."

This is a book about the obstacles to the spread of a scientific outlook in the ancient world. Of these obstacles the chief is generally characterised as popular superstition. The purpose of Professor Farrington's study is to raise the question how far popular superstition means superstition originated by the people or imposed upon the people. The testimony of ancient writers is referred to in order that we may distinguish between the two sources of ancient superstition—popular ignorance and deliberate deceit practised, for narrow social and political purposes, by 'philosophers and grave personages of state and government.'

The political implications of the spread of science are of intense current interest. Science found, as it finds today again, its way barred not only by superstition but by a governmental technique of controlling society through organised superstition. The thought of many of the great writers of antiquity was profoundly affected by their attitude to this question. Philosophers like Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, historians like Polybius and Livy, poets like Pindar and Virgil, are seen in a new light when set against this social struggle.

The author gives a new interpretation of the social and political thoughts of ancient writers. His explanation of the attitude of Epicurus and his Roman disciple Lucretius is of particular interest. Plato taught the religion of the city-state buttressed up by his 'noble lies' mentioned at the end of the third book of the *Republic*. Plato's is an authoritarian state based on organised superstition. Plato's religion had a political function, like Machiavelli's, and was incompatible with Ionian science. He was, from one point of view, a fundamentalist in his beliefs. In the view of Epicurus the freedom of the human will was a matter of fact established by observation. Man does not simply move because he is pushed. He makes up his mind to move, and then puts the intention into effect. Epicurus waged a constant and determined war against determinism and police function of religion and he called on men to "free themselves from the prison of business and politics." A refreshing individuality in Epicurianism thus proved a corrective to authoritarianism in private life, religion and social life. The revolt against Platonism that began with the Cynics and the Stoics culminated in Epicurean challenge to Plato.

Lucretius' famous work *De Rerum Natura*, a masterpiece of polemics, was not directed, as Momsen has pointed out, exclusively, or even mainly, against popular superstition, but that the object of his attack was the state cult as the mainstay and propagator of superstition. Lucretius, like Epicurus, stood for freedom and thus was bitterly attacking the organisation of superstition for reasons of state.

Professor Farrington's book is a remarkable contribution to histories of philosophy and political science. His massive scholarship and clear presentation are very impressive indeed. In view of the growth of authoritarianism and consequent policy of 'indoctrination' of the people, by state agencies, in political slogans and shibboleths, his work is invested with a special meaning and significance.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Testament of India.—By Ela Sen. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 286. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., the well-known firm of publishers, deserve the thanks of all Indians for arranging a series of publications designed to acquaint the English-reading public all over the world with Indian thoughts and aspirations. *Testament of India* by Mrs. Ela Sen is one of this series and more than upholds the standard attained by the other books of the group. A facile pen has enabled Mrs. Sen to win for herself a wide reputation. In the present book she appears as an intellectual, subjecting Indian leaders and movements to acute analysis and vivisection. She has never been a believer in abstract speculation; what is not linked up with the current of modern life is of no use to her. The pages of her 'Testament' pulsate with life and vitality and have a

delightful flavour of modernism about them. The purpose of the book is to put before the readers a few of the great problems that have faced India during the past twenty years. "The actual aims and aspirations of the vast masses of Indian people," argues Mrs. Sen, "can be no better realised than by a study of their major problems, and, with this object in view, I lay before my readers a number of impressions from the lives and work of those personalities who are the acknowledged leaders of political thought in India today, and also deal with some of those great handicaps—such as communalism—that stand in the way of achieving a happy and united country." The personalities she chooses are Gandhi, Nehru, Tagore, Subhas Bose, Jinnah Naidu, Abdul Gaffar Khan, Malaviya and Rajendra Prasad—representative persons who breathe forth the spirit of the times. Socialism, terrorism, communalism, women's and peasant movements have been dealt with in separate chapters. In the interesting Introduction Mrs. Sen, in setting out the salient features of Indian politics today, remarks that socialism has definitely crept into the country and has come to stay. It is recognised that the reconstruction of India must be on a socialistic basis. This demand for socialism has, however, already proved to be, as the writer points out, a source of serious difference within Congress ranks. The causes and effects of the terrorist movement are analysed with accuracy and the significance and potentialities of women's and peasant movements are indicated with remarkable clarity.

But above all the pen-pictures of the fighters for Indian freedom are at once arresting and fascinating. Many of these pen pictures bear more than one reading. Psychological treatment of character adds a welcome intellectualistic touch. Let us take up the sketch of Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah: "A cynical bitterness surrounds him, as it must any man dissatisfied with his deserts. But beneath it there is a fervor about the man, who is, however, restricted from rising above himself. His own inferiority complex is his greatest enemy. He cloaks it with cynicism, arguments, pose and posture, but underneath his spirit pulsates, wanting self-expression and liberation. His egotism has barred the recesses of his mind and made him the creature which his brilliant intellect and natural gifts have not deserved. Watching him in his struggles for supremacy, hurling bitter invectives, unworthy of his grey hairs, at people because in his mind he is only too conscious of their superiority, a sad reflection steals over one. Once the pride and hope of the nation, the exponent of national aspirations, is now its bitterest foe, its unsurmountable obstacle: 'How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the Morning.'" Mrs. Sen's book is full of such gems. One is reminded of the vigorous characterisations of prominent personalities in 'Pillars of Society' and 'Prophets, Priests and Kings' that emanated from the powerful pen of A. G. Gardiner. All the chapters converge towards a central goal—Indian independence, meaning thereby, political, economic, social and individual freedom. There is no doubt that *Testament of India* will commend itself to all those that are interested in the proper understanding of the political and social scene in India today.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA.

The Story of Indian Civilisation.—By C. E. M. Joad. Macmillan & Co. Pp. 152. 1936.

This modest sketch of the civilization of our country is, in the words of Prof. Joad himself, 'not a history, or even a history complete in outline, of

India.' His plan has been to select those aspects of Indian History which seemed to him significant or distinctive, and to try to give some account of them, and " as my interest is mainly attracted by the thought and culture of India, these, rather than the political history of the country, have pride of place . . . . it is like an impressionist sketch that seeks to present a picture of some brightly coloured scenes rapidly observed by the artist and rendered from a highly personal standpoint almost at the moment of vision. . . . What follows is therefore less the story of Indian civilization than an account of the reactions produced by that story in a highly interested spectator, a product of the very different civilization of the West, whose primary purpose in writing, has been to clear to himself what it is that India has or has had which marks off her civilization from that of all other peoples." The attitude and objective of the author could not be better expressed, and so far as they go Professor Joad has served them very well. In spite of such misstatements as " in the middle of the 7th century B.C. Bimbisāra founded the Maurya Empire," or the " dynasty of the Scythian kings known as the Kuṣāna dynasty was finally overthrown by the Hindu king Samudragupta," the book is really a good introductory study even for adults and the lucidity of style and fine manner of presentation with which the whole story is told, are indeed attractive features of the book. But what a modern reader misses in a book of this kind—and specially when it comes from the mental workshop of Professor Joad—is the absence of any discussion about the material background of Indian civilization, or, in other words, the social economy of the Indian people. Even a man like Professor Joad seem to have been led by the host of traditional historians who write Indian history but ignore the Indian people. After all, the philosophers of the Upaniṣads or the speculators of Indian thought, the masterpieces of Indian sculpture and architecture, the Bhāsas and Kālidāsas, the Kautilyas and Śukrāchāryas, do not cover more than a fraction of the enormous expanse that we call the Indian scene.

N. Ray

Directory of Indian Libraries.—By the Indian Library Association. Imperial Library, Calcutta. Pp. 104. 1938.

This directory of Indian libraries is a welcome publication, and it is sure to be useful to librarians, library-workers and publishers. The total number of libraries included in the directory is about 269. Of these, 17 are University libraries, 86 college libraries, 26 school libraries, 9 Government libraries and 131 public libraries. It must be remembered that those libraries alone that have a minimum strength of at least 5 thousand volumes find place in this publication, but even then, the number of libraries satisfying this minimum qualification is certainly much more than what is included in the directory. The sponsors complain that it is due to apathy and lack of interest on the part of librarians that a bigger number of libraries could not be included. The response has not been encouraging and in spite of reminders a comparatively small number of libraries supplied the required information. This is really very deplorable.

It is to be hoped a second edition of the directory will soon be called for when fuller details of the existing entries and new and additional entries will be possible.

N. Ray

Ourselves

[*I. A New Fellow of the University.—II. The Nagendranandini and Mokshadasundari Gold Medals for 1939.—III. The Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for 1939.—IV. Annual Prize by the Association of Surgeons of India.—V. Award of the Mouat Medal in Literary Subjects.—VI Khaira Professor of Physics.—VII. Extension Lectures on Geology.—VIII. Donation by the Standard Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd.—IX. The Congress Library, Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad.—X. Lecture on Indian Music.—XI. MSS. of Persian Translation of Mahabharata —XII Dr. John Lie Hydrick's proposed visit to India.—XIII. All-India Oriental Conference.—XIV. University Representatives on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca.—XV. Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education Bengal. XVI. University Representative on Indian School Sports Association.—XVII. Extension of Affiliation Recommended. —XVIII. Date for the I.E. and B.E. Examinations.*]

I. A New Fellow of the University

His Excellency the Chancellor is pleased to nominate Rai Bahadur Bhadreswar Barua, B.L., to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University in place of Rai Promodchandra Datta, Bahadur, whose term of office expired on the 14th January, 1940.

Mr. Barua has been attached to the Faculty of Law.

* * *

II. The Nagendranandini and Mokshadasundari Gold Medals for 1939

Srimati Usharani Datta, Kavyatirtha, was awarded the Nagendranandini Gold Medal for the year 1939. She submitted an essay entitled "*Grihini Grihamuchyate.*"

The Mokshadasundari Gold Medal for 1939 for which the subject fixed by the University was an essay on Michael Madhusudan Dutt was awarded to each of the following candidates who competed for it:—

Srimati Nihar Dasgupta, B.A., and Srimati Saradindu Devi, B.A.

* * *

III. The Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for 1939

Mr. Praphullachandra Ghosh was awarded the Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for the year 1939. He submitted an essay entitled 'The Relationship between Landlord and Tenant in a Scheme of Tenancy Legislation in Bengal' for the prize.

IV. Annual Prize by the Association of Surgeons of India

The Association of Surgeons of India has decided to award an annual Prize of the value of Rs. 100 to the author of the best essay on a subject which will be fixed by the Governing Body of the Association and announced at the beginning of every year.

* * *

V. Award of the Mouat Medal in Literary Subjects

Mr. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., was awarded a Mouat Medal on his completion of the second year's term of his Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1932.

* * *

VI. Khaira Professor of Physics

The Syndicate has recommended that Dr. Bidhubhushan Roy, D.Sc., may be re-appointed Khaira Professor of Physics and that he may be permitted to serve in that capacity till he completes his sixtieth year.

* * *

VII. Extension Lectures on Geology

Dr. S. Deb, D.Sc. (Paris), has been invited by the University to deliver a special course of lectures for the benefit of Post-Graduate students of Geology on Ore-microscopy and the modern Physico-chemical methods for the determination of opaque minerals.

* * *

VIII. Donation by the Standard Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd.

The Standard Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., have promised a donation of Rs. 2,100 to the University to be paid in monthly instalments of Rs. 175 towards the expenses in the first year for working out some chemical and biological problems. The investigation will be carried on under the guidance of Dr. Sushilkumar Mitra by two Research Scholars to be appointed by the University on his recommendation in the laboratories of the University College of Science.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

IX. The Congress Library, Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad

In response to a circular letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad requesting authors, editors and publishers that complimentary copies of all publications may be given to the Congress Library, Allahabad, our University has decided to make a free gift to it of a complete set of all books published by it and has included the Congress Library in the complimentary list of its publications.

* * *

X. Lecture on Indian Music

Mr. Tej Narayan Singh will deliver a lecture at the University on a Comparative Study of Indian and Western Music which he will illustrate by means of practical demonstration.

* * *

XI. MSS. of Persian Translation of Mahabharata

The University has decided to purchase the MSS. of a Persian translation of the Mahabharata about a century and half old. It is not, however, a complete work, parts 8—18 only being found in it. It does not give the date which seems to have been rubbed off but the paper, ink, etc., prove it to belong to the end of the eighteenth century.

* * *

XII. Dr. John Lie Hydrick's proposed visit to India

Dr. John Lie Hydrick, who is well-known for his work in the field of Public Health Administration and Health Education and is an authority on visual aids in Education, will shortly pay a visit to India. It has been suggested that the Teachers' Training Department and the Students' Welfare Committee should avail themselves of Dr. Hydrick's visit to this country for the benefit of the students.

* * *

XIII. All-India Oriental Conference

Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri and Dr. Maryla Falk attended the All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati during the Easter holidays as representatives of our University.

XIV. University Representatives on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., Principal, University Law College, and Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, M.A., Registrar, Calcutta University, have been appointed to represent our University on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca, for the year 1940-41.

* * *

XV. Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education, Bengal

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor has been appointed representative of this University on the Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education, Bengal.

* * *

XVI. University Representative on Indian School Sports Association

Mr. Anathnath Chatterjee, M.B., B.S., Honorary Secretary, Students' Welfare Committee, has been re-appointed as University representative on the General Committee of the Indian School Sports Association.

* * *

XVII. Extension of Affiliation Recommended

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate that in extension of the affiliation already granted the following Colleges may be affiliated with effect from the session 1940-41 in the subjects and to the standard mentioned against each of them :—

The Victoria College, Comilla, in Sanskrit to the B.A. Honours Standard.

The Krishnachandra College, Hetampur, in Elements of Civics to the I.A. Standard.

The Gokhale Memorial Girls' College in Logic and the Alternative Paper in English to the I.A. Standard.

XVIII. DATES FOR THE I.E. AND B.E. EXAMINATIONS

The commencing dates for the above examinations have been fixed as follows:—

I.E. Section A B.E. non-Professional	Monday, the 19th August, 1940
I.E. Section B B.E. Professional	Wednesday, the 21st August, 1940.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

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THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY, KT.

VII

SHAKESPEARE AS A REVISER OF PLAYS WRITTEN BY OTHERS—AUTHORSHIP OF *Titus Andronicus* AND THE THREE PARTS OF *Henry VI*

IN previous issues the present writer has attempted to impress upon his readers the general conditions prevailing in the literary circles of Elizabethan England. The reader must not forget, however, that the players and playwrights were equally condemned for their profession and that the authors were denied, as a general rule, the benefit of their productions. They wrote in most cases according to the suggestions and directions of the theatre-managers and nobody was conscious about the permanancy of their writings. Consequently the custom of hack-writing was much in vogue at that time and Henslowe's diary extending over a period of barely half a dozen years from 1591 to 1597 affords us a number of names of dramatists. The names of Jonson, Chapman, Middleton, Dekker, Munday, Heywood, Wilson, Chettle along with a lot of others recur in the said diary in connection

with the production of a number of plays. It has further been pointed out that collaboration and revision were the order of the day. Besides, unacknowledged borrowing was never taken into consideration either by the authors themselves or by the general public. The players produced their dramas and being, as a rule, needy and impecunious sold them to the theatre-managers; they had no lien on their copyright and the laws on the subject were very vague and indefinite. There were many rival theatre companies, *e.g.*, 'The Theatre' (1576), 'The Curtain' (1577), 'The Bear Garden' (1583), 'The Rose' (1587), 'The Globe' (1599), etc., and there existed a keen competition for new plays and a hunt for plots. From a study of Henslowe's record, it will be apparent that any author was at liberty to make use of an old play, retouch it and vamp it up to suit the current taste without being held guilty of plagiarism; naturally Shakespeare has been credited with 'having served his apprenticeship as a "playdresser" revising and bringing up to date the work of other men.' In all the early plays critics have found immaturity of style and there is noticeable a continuous improvement in this respect. This will be evidenced by comparing the versification of, say, *All's Well that Ends Well* with that of *King Lear* and *The Tempest*. We notice, in his earlier productions, frequent indulgence in punning, quibbling and alliteration, which is conspicuously absent in his later and maturer productions.

Just before Shakespeare's acceptance of playwright's profession the dramatic field was only attracting the university wits and Marlowe, Lyly, Greene, Peele, Nashe were fixing themselves up once for all for the stage. No doubt with their advent the general standard of playwriting was improving from place to place. In fact, non-university talents were being gradually ousted from the field.

It is perfectly natural, then, that when unacknowledged borrowing was allowable, and when Shakespeare was only in his nonage—there is no doubt that he was—his trembling pen in its prentice state would try to show its worth by plagiarising the works of others. But this is more a speculation than an assertion and one has to see what he can logically conclude from a few specific cases where there are evident rooms for doubt. In Henslowe-papers one would never come across the name of Shakespeare in any connection, neither there is a single line extant to show that Shakespeare ever indulged in hack-writing or took to the practice of collaborating with others.

Let us begin with *Titus Andronicus*.

Some critics hesitate to admit *Titus Andronicus* in the Shakespearean cannon, on aesthetic ground, as it is a blood-curdling tragedy of horror drawn up on the Senecan model. But its inclusion in Mere's list (1598) as also in the 1st folio is a strong proof in favour of Shakespeare's authorship. Jonson's reference in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) fixes the date between 1584 and 1589:

> Hee that will sweare Ieronimo, or Andronicus are the best playes, yet, shall passe unexpected at, heere, as a man whose Iudgement showes it is constant, and hath stood still, these fiue and twentie, or thirtie years.

In 1687 Ravenscroft when printing his version of *Titus Andronicus* remarked in the preface:

> I have been told by some anciently conversant with the Stage, that it was not originally his, but brought by a private Author to be Acted, and he only gave some Master-touches to one or two of the Principal Parts or Characters; this I am apt to believe, because it is the most incorrect and indigested piece in all his Workes, It seems rather a heap of Rubbish than a Structure.

There are several entries about this play in Henslowe's diary between 1591 and 1594. To quote a specimen:

> ne [new] at tittus and vispacia the 11 of aprell 1591
> .....IIJ" IIIJs.

Titus Andronicus was after all a very popular play.

Ravenscroft's evidence is a late tradition first noted 71 years after Shakespeare's death and cannot be taken into serious consideration.

Heminge and Condell were long connected with the Globe and with the man Shakespeare who was their fellow-actor. When these friends edited his writings out of pious regard for perpetuating his memory, it is easy to understand that they would not include pieces in their collection which were not from Shakespeare's pen. On the whole the present writer would state clearly that he holds that *Titus Andronicus*, whatever the internal evidence may suggest, came entirely from our poet's pen. It was after all an early production when Shakespeare was just entering into the field as an apprentice. He was, therefore, naturally tempted to conform to the popular taste for tragedies on the Senecan model.

It is clear that in his early years Shakespeare was content to allow his pen to be guided; he was apprenticed, so to speak, to Marlowe, Kyd, Lyly, Greene and perhaps others, taking their good things where he could find them, transforming them into what he wished, standing out from the very beginning as a separate voice, though one which is not always easy to distinguish when he sang in parts with others.

Let us glance hastily at the history of the chronicle type of play in England in the time of Greene's *James IV.** Plays on subjects drawn from English history had been more or less common since the production of *Gorboduc* in 1562.

Even before the Spanish Armada (1588), England had become conscious of her own power and eager for the display of her prowess. It was under the stimulus of this growing consciousness of might that the first true chronicle play, *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, was written. In this play a dramatist for the first time displays an adequate sense of the objective value of the materials derived from history combined with that insight into human nature and largeness of imaginative power that are necessary to make of the dry records of Holinshed and Stow a moving dramatic story. '*The life and death of Jack Straw*' which also probably preceded the Armada, in its first production, is, while not so good as *The Famous Victories*, a play of vigorous characterisation and native English colouring of historical events. But we are probably not far from the truth in supposing that it was the year 1588 that brought the complete development of the chronicle type.

Marlowe's *Edward II*, the faultless masterpiece of his dramatic composition, was produced probably in 1590. And within a few years, in quick succession there came *Edward III*, *Richard II*, and *Richard III*, the *Henry VI* trilogy and the culminating trilogy of the two parts of *Henry IV* and *Henry V*.

It is the *Henry VI* trilogy which has given rise to animated controversies even among the most recognised and authoritative critics of Shakespearean scholarship. Up till recently it was held that *Henry VI*, Parts II and III, were based upon the *Contention between the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster* and the *Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York* respectively, but Mr. Peter Alexander has shown that

* *Greene* (Mermaid series), Nos. XLII-XIII.

it is the other way about and that they were bad quartos of pirated editions of *Henry VI*, Parts II and III, as given in the folio of 1623; the proofs he adduces carry conviction, but do not altogether do away with the valid opinions held all along that Shakespeare was indebted to his predecessors Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, Peele, Nash and Lodge. Just like *Titus Andronicus*, Henslowe records the receipts on 'harey The VJ' which was after all, as appears from his diary, a very popular play of the time. It is noted thus :

Ne [new] at harey VJ the 3 of marche 1591.....IIJ^{li} XVJ^{s}8*d*

Critics are of opinion that this is Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, although there is no convincing argument of its being so.

Mr. Alexander in his *Henry VI and Richard III* has no doubt made out a strong case in support of his thesis but he goes too far when he says that the story of *Taming of a Shrew* and *A Lier* are based upon *Taming upon the Shrew* and *The Leir* respectively. Prof. Pollard in his introduction to Alexander's book puts it thus: "Is it justifiable to call in Marlowe when it is possible to do without him, and if we refrain from calling in Greene, Nash or Marlowe is it reasonable to call in Peele who is notoriously called in by every theorizer about plays of the period who wants to account for a quantity of quiet dull verse ? I confess I want Peele so bitterly in *1 Henry VI* to shoulder the Joan of Arc libels as a pair to his libels on Queen Eleanor in *Edward I* and in *Richard III* to take the blame for the interminable flyting between Richard and his mother and wife." Proceeding further he asserts: "If Shakespeare had any collaborator in these four plays I cannot help believing it was Peele."

Other opinions on this subject by experts are given below:

Malone observes that "the play (Henry VI) which I am confident was not originally the production of Shakespeare, but of another poet, was extremely popular being represented in the season between March 3 and June 13 (1599) no less than 13 times."

Dr. Ward, citing the conclusions of Fleay and Grant White, opines that Marlowe and perhaps Peele and Lodge were involved in the partnership.

"It is as nearly certain as anything can be which depends chiefly upon cumulative and collateral evidence that the better part of what

is best in the serious scenes of *King Henry VI* is mainly the work of Marlowe." *—Thus records Swinburne in his *The Age of Shakespeare.*

Prof. Barret Wendell, citing Fleay, says that Greene, Peele, Kyd and Marlowe had a hand in the 3 parts.

Dr. Schelling is of opinion that it is an old play by Greene assisted by Peele and Marlowe.

W. W. Greg holds that it is possible or probable that there was an earlier version of this play (*Henry VI*) . . . . . and it was only *new* owing to the addition of the Talbot scene by Shakespeare. There may also have been a later revision.

Sir Sidney Lee believes that Greene and Peele are authors of the first draft of all three parts, Shakespeare and Marlowe collaborating on the revision of Parts 2 and 3.

Prof. Masefield's view is that Part I is the work of three minds, that of Shakespeare who saw a big tragic purpose in events and at least two mechanical minds, who neither criticised nor understood but had some sense of the pageant. H. C. Hart holds that it is the work of Greene in collaboration probably with Peele and Shakespeare. Tucker Brooke says that it is wholly the work of Peele.

Bonamy Dobrée, in his essay " Shakespeare and the Drama of his Time " included in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies* (1934), says that Shakespeare must be classed with the group which numbered Marlowe, Kyd and Greene, for he worked with their material and by their methods besides using much the same sources. He also adds that Shakespeare probably developed his idiom mainly from Marlowe and Kyd.

In the celebrated and oft-quoted passage in which Shakespeare is for the first time referred to as a player in London in 1592, '*A Groatsworth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance*' which Greene wrote on his death and runs as follows:

" Base minded men all three of you (probably Marlowe, Lodge and Peele), if by my misery ye be not warned: for unto none of you, like me, sought those burs to cleave. Those puppets, I mean, that speak from our mouths, those antics garnished in our colours . . . . Trust them not for there is an *upstart crow* beautified with our feathers . . . . and being an

* " . . . . . Marlowe is the one and only precursor of that veritable king of kings and lord of lords among all writers and all thinkers of all time."
—Swinburne, *Contemporaries of Shakespeare.*

absolute Johannes Factotum is, in his own conceit, the only *shake-scene* in a country."

The drift of the argument is this: 'We, gentlemen and scholars, have founded the drama in England, and had hitherto held a monopoly of the theatres. Those puppets, antics, base grooms, buckram gentlemen, peasants, painted monsters'—for he calls the players by all these names in succession—have now learned not only how to act our scenes, but how to imitate them; and there is one among them, Shakespeare, who will drive us to penury.'[1]

In the above the words 'upstart crow' and 'shake-scene' evidently refer, as we have noticed before, to Shakespeare.[2]

Now, it is generally admitted that Marlowe was the first to make use of blank verse in the dramatic composition on the public stage. So that a part of the slur on Shakespeare is that he is rivalling or trying to rival Marlowe in this his most judicious and most fruitful innovation. Contemporaries also took it in that light. Referring to Shakespeare's plagiarism an anonymous writer (R. B.) wrote in *Greene's Funeralls*:

> Greene, gave the ground, to all that wrote upon him.
> Nay more the men that so eclipst his fame:
> Purloyned his plumes, can they deny the same?

In support of the views put forth above, we may quote Sir Walter Raleigh, who is taken to be one of the most balanced of Shakespearean critics. He says: 'Lowliness is young ambition's ladder and the only way to success is by conforming to the prevalent fashions and usages, *i.e.* by treading on the footsteps of Marlowe, Kyd, etc.'

A good portion of *Henry VI* deals with the character and action of Joan of Arc. The denigration of Pucelle has been taken to be a discredit on Shakespeare whose impersonality is the most prominent trait. Shakespeare simply followed Holinshed and still more closely in this respect Hall upon whom the former largely drew. We find her described in the chronicles under every form of vituperation; Shakespeare has portrayed the character of the Maid with an undisguised sympathy for her courage, her patriotism, her high intellect and her enthusiasm, thus setting aside the charge of denigration. Such transfiguration and impartial treatment of character

[1] J. A. Symonds.
[2] *Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1940, p. 105.

is only possible in the hands of Shakespeare, who was a master in the knowledge of the springs of character.

The authenticity of all three parts has been doubted since Pope and in Part I which might have become associated with the other two, even if it were not by the same author. Malone[1] maintains that, except in parts of the fourth act, there was not a single print of the footstep of Shakespeare.

Coleridge, himself a poet of the first order and a reputed critic, very pertinently observes : " Read aloud any two or three passages in blank verse even from Shakespear's earliest dramas, as *Love's Labour's Lost* or *Romeo and Juliet* and then read in the same way the opening speech 'Hung be the heavens with black,' etc., in *1 Henry VI* ; pay especial attention to the metre ; and if you do not feel the impossibility of the latter having been written by Shakespeare, all I dare suggest is, that you may have ears, for so has another animal."

In his *Shakespeare Primer* Dowden writes in the same strain : *King Henry VI*, Part I, is almost an old play by one or more authors, which we find it in the first folio, had received touches from the hand of Shakespeare, Greene having the chief hand in the play and he may have been assisted by Peele and Marlowe.

" The general spirit of the drama," says he, " belongs to an older school and it is a happiness not to have to ascribe to our greatest poet the crude and hateful handling of the character of John of Arc excused though to some extent it may be by the concurrence of view in our old English chronicles."

Malone tries to establish that Shakespeare had no hand at all in the original composition of *1 and 2 Henry VI*. Knight is of opinion that Shakespeare was the sole author of the plays in their original form. Grant White supports his belief in the joint workmanship of Shakespeare, Robert Greene and Christopher Marlowe. In supplementing the above views, Hudson, in his introduction to *King Henry VI, Part II*, puts it in an artful manner : " As I have no fourth theory to offer, nor any ambition to excogitate one, I am content to tie up substantially with Mr. White : That the two plays were originally written conjointly by Greene, Marlowe and Shakespeare, the latter doing much the larger portion ; that afterwards, for reasons unknown to us, Shakespeare rewrote them, throwing out most of what the other

[1] See the dissertation on Henry VI by Malone in Vol. 18, Ed. Boswell Jr.

two had contributed, and replacing it with his own matter, and otherwise improving them ; that this joint authorship was the reason of no author's name being given in the first two editions ; and that Greene's share in them, perhaps Marlowe's also, sufficiently accounts for the use made of them, or of one of them, by 'the Earl of Pembroke's Servants,' a theatrical company with which Shakespeare is not known or believed to have had any connection."

Now, it is very important to note that Mr. Alexander's book (*Henry VI and Richard III*) was written in 1929 ; but in 'Companion to Shakespeare Studies' published so late as 1934, edited by Harley Granville Barker and G. B. Harrison, acknowledged to be the standard critics of the third decade of the 20th century, most of the views put forward by Alexander have been refuted. Therein one of the contributors, Mr. A. L. Attwater, observes : " It is however round Shakespeare's share in the three parts of *Henry VI* that controversy has raged longest. Part I appeared first in the folio but versions of Parts II and III were published in quarto, the *first part of the contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster* in 1594, the true tragedie of Richand Duke of York in 1595. Dr. Johnson came to the conclusion that these were piracies. After all, there remains only internal evidence of style upon which to determine the question of authorship.

Again, in the same book Bonamy Dobrée, under 'Shakespeare as Part of his Time,' writes : "To what degree Shakespeare was influenced by his collaborators, how much effect he had on them, is a dubious matter, but it is none the less fascinating and important for that." He says that the four playwrights who seem to have given the impetus to the main movement of the times are Marlowe, Kyd, Greene and Peele, of whom the first two are the most important.

The indefatigable labour of Prof. Allison Gaw deserves special mention in this connection. In his *Origin and Development* of *1 Henry VI*, he arrives at the conclusion that, in the *1 Henry VI* we have a clear case of a composite manuscript, the joint product of several authors and bearing unmistakable marks of their respective idiosyncrasies as to spelling, a manuscript that later underwent interpolation or revision by another hand twice and probably three times and that finally, thirty-one years after its first penning, passed legitimately from its undoubted theatre-owners to the compositors of the basic text in the folio of 1623. Gaw contends : " The fullest treatment

of the problem of the authorship of this play, but its conclusions are affected by the theory put forward by P. Alexander."

Prof. Pollard, though he gives an unqualified assent to Alexander's views, cannot make up his mind to give up altogether a collaborator to Shakespeare and urges: " Shakespeare must surely have made his false starts like other men and occasionally even have got some way with a play, and then put it aside to work at another likely at the moment to win greater success."

It will thus be clear that the majority of views quoted here lends support to the collaboration theory and attempts have been made by critics to sort out the lines from different hands. The present writer also believes that *Henry VI*, more specially its first part, was not of Shakespeare's writing alone but was the product of composite authorship.

(To be continued)

THE TWO INDIAN NATIONS

DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,
Head of the Department of Engtish and Fellow, Calcutta University,
Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal,
President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

THE Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1921 and the Government of India Act, 1935, mark three stages of progressive self-government by Indians in the economic and political spheres. Nationalists with leftist tendencies maintain that, while we have reason to be thankful for what we have received, we should not fail to realise that somehow the British Government has taken away with one hand what it has given with the other. To all these reforms in the constitution has been tagged the Communal Award with its encouragement to the elements of disruption. Under the plea of safeguarding the interests of the minority communities, a deliberate attempt, such people hold, has been made to divide us into various sections and sub-sections and into mutually conflicting parties. As the result of this most pernicious of measures, our Mussalman brethren have been induced to regard themselves as aliens in the land of their birth. To such an extent has this objectionable mentality been developed that they are claiming that, though living in India for centuries, they do not belong to her ; that their natural affiliations, religious, political and social, are with their brothers in faith living in foreign lands and not with those with whom they are naturally allied by living in the same land and under the same Government. Is it, therefore, any wonder that those of them who hold such views should, of set purpose, stand outside any movement which seeks to establish All-India national solidarity ?

ALL-WORLD MUSLIM SYMPATHY

The question of questions with us to-day is why should members of the Hindu and Muslim communities, which have been living side by side for generations and which are bound to each other by every conceivable tie except that of professing a common faith, be constantly

engaged in a struggle now degenerating into physical clashes, at other times rising to the economic and the political plane. Another equally interesting question is why should a section of the Mussalman population of India feel so little sympathy for its Hindu neighbours while it is prepared to extend its friendship and affection in the fullest possible measure to its co-religionists who might live in a distant country and whom it has never seen. Does all this happen because the Hindu and Mussalman of India think that they belong to different nations though they have been living in the same country for centuries and also because Mussalmans all over the world are supposed to be members of one and indivisible nation ?

Sir Theodore Morrison, at one time Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, in defending the separtist attitude of the great Muslim community, has quoted Sir Abdur Rahim who, according to him is reported to have said : " Any of us Indian Muslims travelling for instance in Afghanistan, Persia, and Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, and Turks, would at once be made at home and would not find anything to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our Hindu fellow townsmen live."

Pan-Islamic Unity

It may be, as Sir Abdur Rahim stated, that the Mussalman, to whatever country he might belong, has a certain affinity with his brothers in faith settled in every part of the world which makes him a welcome guest whenever he seeks hospitality from his co-religionist. But this is confined to the social and religious aspects of life and it is not correct to assume that this feeling of brotherhood is to be found on other than these planes.

For instance, Mr. Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L., who, as a Mussalman, may be expected to be familiar with actual conditions, in his article contributed to the " Hindusthan Standard " of the 8th May, 1939, points out that the Indian Mussalman when he goes abroad continues to be known and called an Indian. The Arab Muslim invariably calls the Indian Muslims, Hindus or Indians. The Indian Muslim living under foreign domination is not ordinarily granted the same privileges and facilities enjoyed by the Mussalman coming from an independent

country. He is always treated as a foreigner. Here the profession of a common faith makes no difference. The attitude of the Government of Iraq towards the Mussalmans of India will prove this to the hilt. In that country, the facilities granted willingly to the Iraqui Christian are denied to the Indian Mussalman. The ideal of Pan-Islamism has no influence whatsoever in changing their point of view. This merely shows what a mistake our Muslim brethren are making when they look for sympathy and support from Muslim States lying beyond their homeland. They must be prepared to cast in their lot with their own countrymen and while continuing to be a part of the Indian nation secure all possible safeguards for conserving their legitimate rights and privileges.

I would take the liberty of pointing it out here that the grievance has reference to what, for want of a better term, may be called social ostracism. It is an undeniable fact that the orthodox Hindu does not and cannot welcome the Mussalman to his house as a guest. But it is also equally true that, within Hindu society itself, there are groups which have little social intercourse or none. Still, they do not deny that they are one nation. Such separatist feelings are not the monopoly of India alone. What about the Indian who cannot always find lodgings in democratic England simply because he is an Indian? And even in England itself, is it not true that the different social strata are so separated that they have their own clubs, their own hotels and even their own quarters and that the new-rich find considerable difficulty in entering society? National India, conscious of its own defects, has no desire to criticise the shortcomings of other nations but it is not prepared to allow such attacks to pass unchallenged, specially when they come from quarters which can, by no means, be regarded as innocent. At any rate, what India expects is that, admitting the existence of these shortcomings and defects in our social structure, the British Government, which claims to rule India for the benefit of her nationals, should not do anything to emphasise such difference but, on the other hand, should try to obliterate them. And this, it is contended, has not been always done. On the contrary, the policy followed has very often been in a different direction altogether, and this we regard as extremely regrettable and open to uncharitable interpretation in which we have no desire to indulge.

Probably the opinion that Muslims, no matter what country they live in, form one nation, was first publicly uttered within recent times

by Sir Mohammed Yakub, one of the most prominent members of the Muslim League, in the course of a statement issued through the "Associated Press" on the 11th January, 1939. He said: "The Mussalmans cannot be divided according to their country of domicile, they are a single indivisible nation, living in different parts of the world. The Mussalmans of India do not belong to the same community as the other Indians. They belong to an altogether different nation and, as such, are entitled to be classed as a different nation, and not as a community, claiming their own rights of self-determination. The Mussalmans of India can never accept any declaration of rights, or any charter of safeguards, however just and generous they may be, which gives them no hand in its formation and which reduces them to the status of a minority community."

One wonders whether the British Government, in making the Communal Award, ever thought of consulting the Mussalmans living in other parts of the world and also whether those of our Muslim brethren living in India who believe in it, before utilising it for entering various public bodies, consulted the All-World Mussalman nation to which Sir Mohamed Yakub refers.

It is admitted that there is great sympathy among Mussalmans living in different parts of the world, but this does not turn them into one nation. In the different Christian denominations also there is this sympathy but it does not make them members of one nation. For instance, a humble Baptist like myself, when deputed to represent the Baptist Lay Association of Bengal, was offered hospitality in English, Scotch and Welsh as well as Canadian and American homes. But it does not follow, because all my hosts and myself believe in a particular interpretation of the teachings of the Bible, we are members of one nation.

It is true that the sympathies of Mussalmans extend to their co-religionists all over the world and that this outlook has exercised a profound influence on the political history of this community in India. When Italy captured Tripoli, when the Christian States in the Balkans united in a wanton attack on Turkey and when France was allowed to establish a so-called protectorate over Morocco, the Mussalmans of India were convinced that Christian Europe had made up its mind to utterly demolish the last remnants of Muslim power. It is said, but with what truth I do not know, that, in the Great War, the Muslim soldiers in Mesopotamia showed great reluctance in

fighting against their Muslim brethren who were supporting the Central powers. But the greatest blow was the stand taken against Turkey. At that time, Sir Syed Ahmed is reported to have said: "When there were many Muslim kingdoms, we did not feel much grief when one of them was destroyed ; now that so few are left, we feel the loss of even a small one. If Turkey is conquered, that will be a great grief, for she is the last of the great powers left to Islam. We are afraid that we shall become, like the Jews, a people without a country of our own."

One feels surprised that a fine Mussalman of the type of Sir Syed should have compared his great community scattered over the whole world to the homeless Jews if Turkey had been swallowed up by any of the great European powers. I am not aware that any prominent Mussalman of either Egypt, Africa or the Malaya Peninsula where Islam is followed extensively made any observation of a similar nature. It seems to me that this attitude would have a better justification if, instead of Turkey, Mecca and Medina, the sacred places of Islam, were to fall into the hands of the infidels.

What I hold is that this idea of all Mussalmans of the whole world forming one nation is the product of a sentiment which is partly religious and partly cultural. We have about 2 million Baptists in Soviet Russia with their pastors and we have not received any authentic information about them or their Church activities for the last 3 or 4 years, and we feel for them but that does not make us one nation. Whenever natural calamities occur, we open our purse strings for our brethren living in remote parts of the world—we hold identical theological beliefs and belong to the same religious organisation but most certainly we are not one race or one nation.

Composition of the Muslim Community

Let us turn to what Sir Theodore Morrison, the champion of the separatist Mussalmans, has got to say on the composition of the Muslim community of India: "Some of these Muslims are descendants of the Arabs, Afghans, and Turks who came down from the heights of Central Asia in successive waves of conquest, but the great number by blood are natives of the soil, high-born Rajputs, hardworking Sudras, or lowly outcastes who were converted to Islam by nameless missionaries or by those famous saints whose tombs are to this day

visited by countless pilgrims. The Muslim population in India was increased and strengthened from yet another source : from the days of Kutbuddin Aibak in the thirteenth century down to the death of Aurangzeb in the eighteenth century, a continuous stream of soldiers and scholars, of artists and administrators came to take service under Muslim kings from the highly civilized cities of Central Asia ; many of these men wrote their names upon the pages of Indian history and founded families which are still held in high esteem. Owing to the caste system of the Hindus, these Muslim invaders and converts were not merged in the general population but remained a distinct people."

Every one who claims the least knowledge of the history of India is aware that the Mussalmans of foreign birth who came either as invaders or as seekers of service under the Muslim rulers of India were but a handful as compared with the bulk of the Mussalman population and that, in the first instance, as invaders ever will, they settled in towns and cities where they surrounded themselves with soldiers for protection as well as for the purpose of carrying on the work of administration entrusted to them. It is, therefore, that the many characteristic features of exotic Mussalman culture and civilisation are to be found in cities like Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Lahore, etc. The bulk of the Mussalman population consisted of converts, generally drawn from the poorer and less advanced Hindu classes. What little of Semitic culture they imbibed was largely diluted by their inherited culture which must have been very strongly tinctured by the preponderating Hindu environment in which they lived. The Mussalman artistocratic families too have gradually been intermarrying not only among themselves but also with the wealthier and better-off convert families. To say that the Mussalmans of to-day form a nation by themselves is to take an untenable and illogical position. The bulk of the population of India, in fact nearly 90 per cent, lives in the rural areas. They have no interest in the Pan-Islamic outlook and all the difference they can appreciate between themselves and their Hindu brethren is the difference in the religions they profess. But even here there are points of contact. The Hindu makes his supplications, offers his prayers and his gifts at the shrines of Mussalman saints and the Muslim does the same at the shrines of Hindu saints. Both the Hindu *Sannyasi* and the Muslim *Faqir* flourish at the expense of the Hindu and the Mussalman peasant. I have seen this in

Bengal and Assam, in Bihar and in the United Provinces as also in the Punjab and in Madras. I give below a short extract from what a correspondent wrote to the " Statesman " which appeared in its issue of the 9th June, 1939. This will prove beyond any shadow of a doubt that such contacts between the communities are by no means exceptional and also that in many cases the worship or celebration is a joint one in which members of both the communities take part without the slightest feeling of religious intolerance The account in question runs as follows:—

" On a painted wall, prominent along the road in Shanwarpeth, Poona, are two niches containing two small shrines—one, the Hindu ' Masoba ' and the other a Moslem ' Sayed Sadadat.'

" To the Hindu and Moslem residents of this essentially Hindu locality these two shrines, standing side by side—hardly a foot separating them—are dear as they have been jointly paying homage to the two shrines for generations. They have gladly and willingly subscribed towards the upkeep of these two shrines, and every year they jointly celebrate the ' Urs ' of both.

" On Friday last week (*i.e.*, the 2nd June, 1939) took place the joint annual celebration of the ' Urs ' when the Hindu ' Masoba ' had a new coat of red paint and the Moslem shrine was presented with a green silk covering—and both Hindus and Moslems subscribed towards the cost."

This sympathy and toleration, which are bringing together Hindu and Mussalman, are not confined to the poorer people among the two communities only, as has been suggested here and there by some of our Muslim friends. It is also to be found among those of their leaders who have no desire to exploit the ignorance and the fanaticism of their less fortunate brethren for the attainment of personal ends. The following extract from that well-known daily of Madras, " The Hindu," dated the 31st December, 1938, will prove my contention:—

" By laying the foundation stone of a temple in a village near Hoskote, and of a Bhajana hall in Hoskote, Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, provided yet another instance of his broad-mindedness and cosmopolitan outlook which have earned for him the love and regard of millions of Mysoreans.

" Laying the foundation stone, Sir Mirza said he considered it a great honour that the Committee should have asked him, a non-Hindu, to perform that sacred and important duty.

"It was a truism that all religions aimed at the same goal and those who realised the true significance of religion lived in mutual friendship and regard.

"The great Hindu Bhakta Poet, Kabir, had said that the recitation of the word 'Rama' or 'Rahim' meant the adoration of one and the same God. The same philosophy had been expounded by Sri Ramkrishna Paramahamsa also. In their own State, their beloved Ruler set an example in that direction by his respect for Islam and Christianity."

In the civilised world of to-day, we find different social, religious, and even racial groups living together and forming one nation, for the reason that they have one common economic and political aim. National India holds that Mussalmans have no right to ask for protection and safeguards from the enmity of neighbours with whom they have been living for generations and with whom they share the soil. It is not natural that Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian should live side by side, intermingle in town and country and yet each regard itself as a separate nation. If they differ in certain matters, these are certain customs and usages which characterise their external life. If they have come to think of themselves as separate peoples, it is only because they have been led astray by interested parties whose purposes would be best served by keeping them estranged.

Communalism and the Muslim Masses

Sir Hugh McPherson, ex-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, who has made a special study of communal antagonism, says: "The great masses of the rural population, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, are simple cultivators, who at all normal times live in peace and amity. Their chief pre-occupations are the timely arrival and seasonal distribution of the annual rains, the tillage of their fields, the gathering of their harvests, their dealings with their landlords and their money-lenders. Religious festivals are one of their few excitements. If these occasionally lead to strife and bloodshed, normal relations are resumed as soon as the lava flow of passions subsides. The urban masses are more prone to communal strife, because life is more complicated in the towns. Here political friction often stimulates religious antagonism; temples and mosques are closer together; there is more danger of collision in the narrow streets, and a larger admixture of the

rowdy turbulent elements that love disorder for its own sake and for its opportunities. The educated classes of both communities, when their vision is not temporarily clouded by some communal issue, work harmoniously together in all walks of life. It may indeed be claimed with justice that they have been drawn together, not severed, by their century and a half of association under a common administration which has given them the same laws, the same security of person and freedom of action, the same schools and universities, the same progressive civilization and the bond of a common speech." These are words of wisdom spoken by a true friend of India. Let us, therefore, sink all our differences and try to bring closer the day when separatism will disappear not only among the educated but also among the uneducated, and when any one who tries to fan communal passions will be regarded in the same light as one who tries to tempt a man to become a thief or a robber. Let me conclude by reminding my readers what Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of what is now the Aligarh University, said in 1875. Comparing the Hindu and the Mussalman communities to the two eyes of a beautiful damsel, he said: "If you hit the one, you hurt the other." He also insisted that all Indians who reside in India belonged to "one and the same nation."

Unity in Essential Matters

The ideal of nationalism is the outcome of several factors all operating together in multifarious ways and directions. It would be incorrect to hold that each and every one of these conditions must be present in each and every case and that the absence of one or more of these elements would have the effect of stopping the evolution of nationalism in any country or even that these conditions must exist in their plenitude in a country or among the different groups of the people. History teaches us that it is enough if some of these conditions are present. It has also to be remembered that even if these are not to be found to-day, that is no reason why they should not appear to-morrow.

It is quite true that in our motherland some of these conditions are not to be found at present. For instance, we profess different religions and speak different languages, nor is there that absolute identity of stock which is so powerful a factor in uniting different groups. A majority of the Mussalmans come from the same stock as the majority

community, but they love to think of themselves as descendants either of the Arabs, the Mughals, or the Pathans. They forget that in a large majority of cases, on account of frequent intermarriage with the Hindu converts, the Arabian and Central Asian blood has been diluted to such an extent as to lose its characteristics for all practical purposes.

Ordinarily, every one born in India is known as, or is called, an Indian. It is only people wanting to create divisions and discord among us who dub us Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and so forth. If we examine the inner life of Indians, we find the presence in it of certain common ideas, feelings and sympathies and the religion they profess does not, at least here, make any difference. These ideals, feelings and sympathies, which are common to all of us irrespective of our religion, are not shared with us by people professing our faith who live outside the boundaries of India. They are concerned with purely Indian problems and peculiarly Indian difficulties. As such they must necessarily appeal to us but not to our brothers in faith living in other countries who, in their turn, are naturally concerned with their own domestic problems. This sympathy and fellow-feeling have made us co-operate with one another in the past and, what is more, they will, with every year that passes, encourage greater co-operation among the different communities. And this must be so, for a clearer vision of our difficulties must come with time as well as the realisation of the fact that co-operation among the different groups is their only satisfactory solution.

Granted that our Mussalman brethren are demanding safeguards to protect their religion, language and culture, and that this is tending to keep us apart for the time being, none the less it is true that all far-sighted and patriotic leaders of this community as well as very many of the rank and file have expressed their desire to live under a Government that would be administered and controlled by people's representatives. Hindu, Mussalman, Christian, Sikh, or Parsi all feel a common humiliation under the economic and political control exercised by foreigners. And all take equal pride in India's past glories though, strange to say, their ancestors might not have contributed anything towards it. Not all the Pathan and Mughal kings and emperors can be justly described as ideal rulers, still they were not regarded as aliens for they settled in India and made it their home. At that time, the economic and political interests of

the rulers and the ruled did not clash. I have talked with illiterate peasants in those parts of India which I have visited in order to ascertain how they feel about this matter. While I cannot say with truth that their ideas are crystal clear, they all seem to feel that, on the whole, they would prefer to have Swaraj. They further feel that, when their countrymen are in power, their difficulties will be treated with more sympathy. Access to authority would be easier and the removal of grievances quicker. All this is drawing us closer to one another.

It is necessary to say a few words here in order to obviate all chances of misinterpretation. Under the influence of that fatalism which is so characteristic a feature of the Indian outlook on life, and partly of the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, few, if any, entertain any feelings of positive hatred against the British Government. From what little I could gather, the ignorant masses seem to feel that the days when it will continue to administer the country are numbered and that Indians will at least come into their own. The idea behind this attitude seems to be a love of freedom combined with love of one's own motherland. It is patriotism, felt perhaps in a very dim way, which is responsible for the mass support given to the Congress, regarded as the one powerful All-India organisation which can achieve independence.

The Birth of Nations

Hindu India in the past professed practically one religion, had one culture and one sacred language, *viz.*, Sanskrit. Asoka, the Guptas and still later, the Marathas, ruled over extensive territories and imposed political unity but there was no Indian nation. In their days of glory, the Mughal Emperors held their sway over very large tracts but still there was no Indian nation. All the rulers, whether Buddhist, Hindu or Muslim, were influenced either by personal ambition or by the desire to hand down their kingdoms and empires to their descendants. Great Britain has enforced her *Pax Britannica*, for which we cannot be too thankful. This and her consistently liberal rule have enabled us to make whatever progress we have hitherto achieved. But the unity imposed on us has not grown from within but has come from outside. Probably this is the most serious objection that can be urged against Federation as laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935. This external unity is

not identical with the national unity, to which reference will be made immediately.

The obstacles to the evolving of a united Indian nation with which we are faced to-day, are similar to those present in the European countries two centuries ago. Before the French Revolution, France was not a nation in the sense we understand the word to-day. But when she had to resist armed invasion by her European enemies, the French nation was born. This was late in the 18th century. Only yesterday Germany, in the language of Lord Action, "was a patchwork of some three hundred petty states and the great German people thought of themselves as Prussians, Bavarians, Hanoverians, etc., rather than as Germans." It was welded into a nation by the genius of Bismarck and Moltke. When, in 1871, France was invaded by this new Germany and lay prostrate before her enemy, then again the French nation rose triumphantly from the dust in which she had been grovelling. The present German nation was born when, under the leadership of Hitler, Germany, smarting under the injustice to which she had been a victim, determined to re-assert herself. In these cases, we find that France and Germany were countries with wide territories, with one common language and one religion, *viz.*, Christianity, and yet, in spite of all these favourable conditions, they were not nations before they had made up their minds to be such.

A nation is born only when there is an ardent desire among the people to weld themselves into a nation. There is a word *Ekagrata* which well expresses the fiery enthusiasm which must be behind a really national movement towards unity. Once this *Ekagrata* has come to stay, the separatist tendencies cannot but disappear. The unifying elements amalgamate and their amalgamation increases their unifying influence out of all proportion to their effects as separate and individual elements. Once coalesced, they predominate over the less important or non-essential elements, with the consequence that, sooner or later, the peoples and groups so long kept apart by mutual distrust and suspicion or by short-sighted self-interest are brought together; the feeling for community of interests assumes a tangible form and reveals itself by the appearance of a united nation.

In France and in Germany also there were many and almost insurmountable obstacles to the emergence of a united nation, and yet they disappeared only because the people of these countries were

determined to weld themselves into homogeneous and powerful nations. In our country, too, a handful of Indians, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian and Parsi, combined in 1885 and, for the first time in the history of India, asserted their claims to the enjoyment of those fundamental rights which are the birthright of man. We have travelled far in the 55 years which have followed. Much has been achieved, much remains to be achieved still. To-day there are in that body more than 4½ millions interested in Indian politics in place of the two score or so who initiated the movement. Even if a majority of these 4½ millions are not genuine Congressmen, there are still millions who live, think and work as members of the great Indian nation.

The Indian Nation of the Future

To-day this All-India non-communal organisation, in which there is a place for everyone, is embodying the collective will of Political India. It feels that, in order that our motherland may have a prosperous and glorious future before her, all her sons must sink their differences arising either from religious or economic reasons. The question of questions to-day with us as Indians is whether we shall allow our personal or group interests to stand in the way of the appearance of this great Indian nation. India is one of the oldest civilised countries but she is again the youngest of nations with a long and brilliant future before her. Let those who would place obstacles in her path and prevent her from making her contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind, take care how they meddle with what does not concern them. To do anything calculated to even remotely diminish her importance in the comity of nations would be a sin against the motherland. And to do anything which would tend to lessen the value of her contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind would be a sin against God in whose hands lies the destiny of man. Therefore, let those who even dream of interfering with her pre-ordained destiny take care lest they be shunned by man and condemned by God for their narrow and short-sighted selfishness. We are always talking about exploitation by foreigners. Let me assure my readers that this exploitation will continue so long as we do not unite to set our own house in order.

A Lesson from Egypt

At the invitation of the Indian National Congress, a delegation of the Egyptian nationalist party, known as the Wafdist party, attended the Tripuri session of the Congress. It was to have been headed by the leader of this party, Nahas Pasha, but he was prevented from coming himself owing to important political circumstances and constitutional issues at home. His place was taken by Mahomed Bey. Speaking on the 10th March at the open session of the Congress, he is reported to have said that the East is the cradle of religions and philosophies which have preached co-operation and peace and sought the welfare and happiness of all. Continuing he pointed out that the year 1918 was fateful for both Egypt and India. In that year the leader of the Wafdist movement started his campaign for the economic and political independence of Egypt and that was the year in which Mahatma Gandhi led a similar movment in India. By two treaties, one signed in 1936 and the other in 1938, Egypt has at last secured what she wanted. The decisive element in the attainment of success was, in his opinion, absolute unity among her nationals. Continuing he observed: "No people fighting for their liberty can afford to be disunited. We were a nation of Muslims and Christians, but Zaghlul Pasha forged us into a nation of Egyptians. I hope that, just as in Egypt, where Arabs and Christians merged together and fought against Imperialism, in India also the people will merge together and fight for their independence."

SOME COLD WEATHER VISITORS OF DELHI

DR. S. N. SEN, M.A., PH.D.

THE cold weather brings many attractive visitors to Delhi. Some arrive with the Viceregal party, others follow soon afterwards. One of the earliest to come is a little fellow from Kashmir. He is rather shy at first and elusive. Viewed from behind he looks like a diminutive wagtail all ashy-grey, but approached from the front he is a pretty little bird, very much like a bush chat, bright orange and glossy black. One is not long left in doubt about his identity. The bird promptly takes to the shrubbery, from which he is never very far off, with a bright flourish of his chestnut tail at the approach of man, and the characteristic jerks of the caudal feathers at once betray the Red Start.

The Kashmir Red Start, for that is how our charming guest is styled, visits Delhi with the first spell of cold. It feeds on the ground and punctually appears in the morning and evening. Sometimes you may meet him at other hours. His spouse, a demure little lady, is not so conspicuously coloured and often remains unnoticed.

Every Red Start has its own special preserves and spheres of influence, and his first business, on arrival, is to find one. It is not possible to tell one cock Red Start from another, but if you happen to meet about the same hour one near the Jaipur house, another on the lovely lawn before Safdar Jang's tomb and a third about Sir Andrew Clow's bunglow, you may safely conclude that it is not the selfsame bird that you encounter at three different places ; and if the chestnut tails flash before your admiring eyes about the same spot on more than one occasion, obviously the owner of those bright feathers have some special association with those favoured localities What special features appeal to the Red Start I do not know, but a convenient shrubbery, dense and shady, seems to be an indispensable need. The method and manner of appropriation still remain obscure. I never found two cocks fighting, so the ownership of winter quarters appears to be established by amicable and peaceful settlement, and priority of arrival probably establishes exclusive claims.

The compound of my bunglow has been appropriated by a cock Red Start. The hen must be somewhere near by, but so far I have not seen her. Early in November, when the Red Start first came, it was extremely shy and would not allow me to admire him even from a distance. Now he has learnt to ignore my presence, probably experience has convinced him that there is nothing sinister in human curiosity. I am often permitted to approach as near as ten feet of the green turf where his preying beak seeks tiny particles of food. Even on a rainy day he will punctually come down from his perch and go on foraging. Though a ground feeder the Red Start cannot walk. He proceeds by a series of quick and graceful hops, then stops to pick up a crumb of food, bobs his head and jerks his tail in the tell-tale Red Start fashion and goes on again in quest of nutrition. Sometimes he takes a little flight to descend on ground once more after making a display of his tail feathers in the mean time. Two cocks are never seen feeding together, but once, very early in the morning, I saw as many as three hens hunt for their breakfast in company. With the advent of the spring the Red Start will leave us and go back to its pleasant summer quarters in the cool heights of Kashmir. The cock will then abandon his ashy-grey coat to don a darker suit which is probably more in keeping with his summer surroundings. For the few months that the Red Start chooses to remain at Delhi he adds some colour and cheer to human life, for he prefers human neighbourhood though he may shun human company at the beginning.

Scores of that ubiquitous bird, the gay, giggling, gregarious Myna (Acridotheres tristis tristis), congregate in the green expanse of the Princes' park every evening. Early in the morning they come in twos or fours, though the roosting tree may have sheltered at least fifty the previous night. It is in the afternoon that they group themselves into big parties and when they retire at dusk a flock of eighty to a hundred birds is by no means an uncommon sight. One day, last November, very early in the morning I found a solitary Starling exploring the turf with half a dozen Mynas. It was probably a bold veteran of many winters who had come far in advance of the rest of the community, and, not liking to keep all by himself, he sought the congenial company of his next of kin, for the Starling, like the Myna, is a member of the great family of Sturnidae and gregarious in habits. On the new year's day the old Starling was still with the Mynas waiting perhaps for the arrival of his near and

dear. At last they came in small flocks, and when their number swelled with fresh arrivals every day, they still sought, by preference, the noisy society of Mynas. Early in the morning a group of six to a dozen Starlings might be seen feeding all by themselves, but in the evening the smaller parties would coalesce into a big flock of wellnigh three score and ten, and strange to say, still seek affiliation to the Myna community, although they could very conveniently shift for themselves. At dusk the Starlings would go to roost on the same *babul* tree with the Mynas, and, when alarmed, would still steer their flight for a safer perch in the same company.

Is the Starling's preference for Myna society to be attributed to racial affinity? Is it due to similarity of habits? The Bank Myna (Acridotheres ginginianus) does indeed freely associate with the common Myna though they do not ordinarily interbreed. Stuart Baker says that "In winter, when the extralimital Starlings visit India, two or more races may be found in the same flock. Ticehurst obtained specimens of Finoch's Starling and Hume's Starling with one shot and also found Dresser's Starling associating with these two." But racial affinity and similarity of habits hardly offer a satisfactory explanation of the Starling's peculiar liking for the Myna's company. Delhi happens to be the common meeting place for two of the most noisy Babblers. The Bengal Jungle Babbler (Turdoides terricolor) is, like the Starlings and the Mynas, a gregarious bird. It is like them a ground feeder, and, though it cannot walk or run like the graceful Sturnidae, it hops its way with the utmost ease, and in its love of noise it leaves the loudest member of the Myna confraternity miles behind. Yet it has never been found to associate with the Myna or with its own near kin—the Large Grey Babbler. The large Grey Babbler (Argya malcolmi) is also noisy, gregarious, active on its legs and feeble on its wings like the Jungle Babbler. They are, both of them, ground feeders, living on insects by preference, though wild berries of all sorts will please both the Babblers for a change. Yet I have never in my peregrinations in the open parks of New Delhi and in the neighbouring jungles found the two Babblers associating with each other. They seek the society of their own species and the Large Grey Babbler leaves its jungle cousin severely alone. A Hoopoe may go on probing the turf with the greatest unconcern in the very heart of a congregation of Mynas, heedless of their complascent chuckles and mocking giggles, but an Argya malcolmi will never stray from its own

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ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE THAILAND (SIAM)

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

RECENT progress in the study of pre-historic archaeology of the Far East has been recorded in the proceedings of three pre-historic congresses held in French Indo-China (Hanoi), in the Philippines (Manila) and in the Straits Settlements (Singapore). Thus we are sure to-day that long before the appearance of the Mongoloid Thai people, the country was occupied by diverse races of different grades of civilisation. Palaeolithic implements of the Sumatran type have been found in Malaya as well as in Indo-China and in the intervening region of the Trang-Patalung hills of Peninsular Siam Neolithic polished tools have been found. This area is still occupied by the ever-dwindling Negrito folks who, in the dim pre-historic Stone Age, crossed over to Siam from South India via the Nicober Islands. These curly haired races still cherished the legend that their ancestors were the monkeys of the *Ramayana* who escaped from the burning Lanka.

North Siam was colonised by the Lawas, a race different from the Southern Negritos who were displaced by the more advanced ancestors of the present Cambodians, speaking Mon-khmer languages and connected with the Mundas of Eastern India and the Mons or Talaings of Pegu. From this time onwards this country would be influenced, for better or for worse, by the Cambodians on the one side and the Burmese on the other. The Thai people displaced the Khmers but both received the first gleam of civilization from India through the Buddhistic and Brahmanical religions. As early as the third century B.C., we hear of Buddhist missionaries being sent to Burma by emperor Asoka. By the third century A.D., we find Buddhist and Brahmanical inscriptions in the Hindu colonies of Champa and Cambodge inhabited by the Khmer people. By that time the virile Thai race who occupied the Yang-tse valley, began to be influenced simultaneously by Burma and Cambodge. The Thai founded in 8th century A.D. a powerful kingdom of Nan-Chao in Yunnan, South China, whence they emigrated into the fertile plains watered by the Menam and the Mekong rivers. The Khmers were

already occupying Cambodge to the East. The Mons formed the kingdom of Dvaravati to the West. The Malaya people founded the vast kingdom of Srivijaya to the South and the Lawa tribes of the Mon-Khmer family have built their centre at Labapuri (Lobpuri), one of the most ancient sites of Siam.

The Thai people asserted their individuality remarkably in the 13th century A.D. driving away the Mons and founding the city of Chieng Mai. So one of their kings Indraditya waged successful wars against the Khmers and established the dynasty of Sukhodaya. His son Rama Khamheng conquered the whole of Menam valley and the Malay Peninsula as far as Ligor (Nagar Sridharmaraj). They thus " paved the way for the formation of the Kingdom of Siam properly so-called. Its role in the history of Indo-Chinese arts and institutions is not less important than its political role: inheriting as it did the civilisation of the Khmer kingdom which sank in part beneath the blows that it administered, it transmitted to the Siam of Ayuthiya (Ayodhya) a good number of Cambodian art-forms and institutions which still subsist in the Siam of to-day " (G. Coedes, Origins of the Sukhodaya Dynasty: *Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XIV*). After a century Sukhodaya was eclipsed by the new dynasty of Ayuthiya, founded by Ramadhipati in 1350, and during this epoch the famous Sinhalese Buddhist reformer Saranankara visited Siam with a view to bringing back to Ceylon the purer traditions of *Theravada* Buddhism. Ruling Siam for four centuries the kingdom of Ayuthiya was utterly destroyed in 1763 by its traditional enemies, the Burmese. This ruthless destruction of Ayuthiya partially explains the lamentable lack of dated materials for the history of early Siam.

In 1782, the Chakri dynasty established its capital in Bangkok and the greatest king of this line was Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) after whom the University of Bangkok has been named. A son of this king, Prajadhipok, still lives to remind us of the constitutional revolution of 1932 which led to his abdication followed by the minority regime of his nephew king Ananda Mahidol.

King Rama V or Chulalongkorn had the mortification of seeing one of the richest archaeological sites of Siam with the famous monuments of Angkor snatched away by the French who had already captured Indo-China. He gave to the Siamese the first public museum (1874) which is known to-day as the National Museum at Bangkok adjoining the National Library founded as early as 1905

named after the prince-monk Vajiranana who became the supreme patriarch of the realm and who was also a poet of renown. The library contains the richest collection of Cambodian Pali manuscripts and old Siamese MSS. kept in magnificent lacquer and guilt book-cases. The Vajiravudh Library of printed books contains over 25,000 volumes.

King Prajadhipok founded the Royal Institute for literature, archaeology and fine arts, with the veteran Siamese scholar-prince Damrong as president. He has published volumes on " the Burmese Wars," on " Classical dancing " and on " Buddhist monuments in Siam ". He warmly received Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and his party visiting Bangkok in 1928.

During the constitutional regime the Royal Institute was abolished and the National Museum and the Library were placed (1936) under the Ministry of Public Instruction now paying 30,000 ticals per annum. The National Museum controls ten regional branches: (1) Ayuthiya, (2) Lobpuri, (3) Bisulok, (4) Lampun, (5) Chaiya, (6) Bhetchaburi, (7) Nagor Pathom, (8) Korat, (9) Singhuri, (10) Wat Bencha. These field museums are daily making important discoveries, both Buddhistic and Brahmanical. Archaeological activities in Siam have been stimulated by the recent discoveries of the Greater India Research Commission financed by the late Gaekwad of Baroda. The Director of Research, Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, has published reports of the discoveries of the Hindu monuments in Malay Peninsula where pre-historic as well as historic sites and objects are being discovered showing the intimate connection of Siam and the Malay Peninsula with India and the Indonesian world. Systematic and scientific explorations of historical sites have yet to be arranged for and funds are not always forthcoming. Lobpuri has yielded to epigraphists Hindu inscriptions of 5th-6th centuries A.D. and inspite of ravages of foreign invasion a huge quantity of Buddhistic and Brahmanical antiquities have been found and more may be expected from Ayuthiya Bang Pa-In, Chaiya and other sites. Already the National Museum of Bangkok appeared to be overcrowded as I found it during my last visit in 1938. It is a real palace consecrated to the preservation of national monuments. The Budhaiswan Hall has in its centre the famous bronze image of Buddha Sihing which is said to have been cast in Ceylon. Here we find also beautiful frescoes adorning the walls and a unique collection of

Buddhist votive tablets. Behind this hall, there is another large building devoted entirely to bronze objects and statues of Siamese, Cambodian and Indian workmanship. Along with the Buddhist images the specimens of Brahmanical inconography could also be found but unfortunately these have not yet been properly catalogued. The bigger statues are exhibited in the verandah and the last building Phra Viman contains in its nine rooms the best exhibits of modern Siamese art: royal thrones, conveyances, weapons, musical instruments, dress and masks of the dancers, etc. The Siamese, like their neighbours the Cambodians and the Javanese, are extremely fond of dancing and drama with the proper costumes and musical accompaniments. The marionette (Hun), the shadow-play (Nang), the mask-play (Khon) and the maskless normal drama (Lakon) are all represented here. We find a good deal of similarity with the Cambodian dancing. We also know that the present Burmese drama got an impetus from the invasion of Burma by the Siamese and inspite of occasional outbreak of hostilities there was a large exchange of art and culture between the various peoples inhabiting this Trans-Gangetic peninsula. With a little more of govermental and technical guidance we may expect great progress in the traditional arts and crafts of Siam like wood-carving, inlaying, mosaicwork, decoration with coloured enamels and glazed tiles, metal work, jewellery, pottery, weaving and embroidery, etc. The Government School of Arts and Crafts in Bangkok is trying to fulfil partially this nation-wide programme. Siam is the only independent country in Asia which in literature, art and religion stands nearest to India and any one surveying Siamese art from within will agree with the Siamese scholars who observed: "Most of the motives of Siamese ornament originate in a combination of religious symbolism and a love of nature, and characteristic Siamese pattern work usually contains mythological beings illustrative of some episode of the *Ramayana* and story of the "Life of the Buddha" (*Siam*, Vol. I, p. 66 ; published by The Bangkok Times Press).

A great service to the systematic study of Siamese art has been rendered by Dr. Reginald Le May through his *Buddhist Art in Siam* (Cambridge University Press) which we recommend to all serious students of Indian and Greater Indian art.

HUMĀYŪN IN PERSIA, 1544 A.D.

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AFTER his signal defeats at the hands of Shēr Shāh at the battles of Chausa, 1539 Qanauj, 1540, Humāyūn, during his next three years' stay in India, hoping for succour from some quarter, roamed through the Punjāb, Sind and Rājputāna, and when he found none, he at last withdrew himself to Afghānistān. He stayed for a time at Mashtāng [1] and then, finding no adequate shelter here, decided to retreat further westward. His route lay through the dreary and arid land known as the Rēgistān or desert. The dread of the inhospitable region [2] did not turn his followers from him and the fugitive chief in gratitude entitled every one of the party *Chūlī* or friend of the desert.[3] Though his cup of misery seemed full to the brim, fate dealt a little mercifully with him ; for Malik Hāthī Balūch,[4] the captain of the banditti, instead of doing any injury,[5] took pity on him, brought him to his residence and looked after his comfort. When Humāyūn resumed his journey, the Balūch Chief guided him through the dreaded tract and brought him to the more hospitable district of Garmsīr.[6] The *kalāntar* or chief official of the region, Mīr Abdul Hai,[7] was appointed by Askarī ; so knowing his master's hostility to Humāyūn he could not come forward himself but short of that he was hospitable to Humāyūn in every way.[8] The fugitive chief also benefited from another quarter.

1 Mashtung Road is a railway station on Quetta-Duzdap line.

2 *M R.*, p 574, has آنحضرت قدم در وادی توکل نهاده راه چول پیش گرفتند.
For a graphic picture of it, see *G.H.N.*, fol. 55b and 56a. Humāyūn relates that once 'his very head was frozen by the intense cold.'

3 Even Humāyūn's wife, Ḥamīda Bānū, was henceforth known as *Chūlī* Bēgam.

4 *A N.*, *M.R. Jauhar* calls him Malik Khatī Balūch. The Baluch wife of 'Alī Ishaq was the interpreter of the conversation between Humāyūn and the Baluches.

5 Hāthī Baluch, a small chief in the neighbourhood, had Kāmrān's and Askarī's order to capture Humāyūn ; but now after his meeting with the Mughal chief, he was determined to sacrifice his own life or lives of his family for him. Humāyūn on parting gave him some presents including a ruby and a pearl.

6 More than one writer, *e.g.*, the authors of *A.N.*, *T.A.*, *T.Kh.T.*, mention that Humāyūn now reached a fortified place called Qila-i-Bābā Hājī. According to *G.H.N.*, Humāyūn was received by the Sayyids of the place.

7 *Jauhar* calls him Sayyed Abdul Haqq.

8 According to *Jauhar*, his slave and not he did the hospitality and was blinded by his master as punishment.

Khwāja Jalāluddīn Maḥmūd,[1] one of Askarī's revenue collectors, in the course of his duties had arrived at the fort of Bābā Hājī. When Humāyūn sent for him, he willingly came, transferred his services, and surrendered all his possessions to his new master.[2] Humāyūn, sorely pressed for cash, was relieved by this windfall, distributed the presents among his followers and made the Khwāja steward of the privy purse.[3] Hāji Muḥammad Kōkī, Askarī's foster-brother, also deserted his master for Humāyūn.[4]

Though partially relieved of his immediate needs, Humāyūn's prospects were gloomy indeed. He did not know where to go to or what else to do. He felt dejected and at one moment thought that 'he should seek some lonely corner and withdrawing himself, outwardly and inwardly, from other matters, should give himself up to God alone.' But he was dissuaded by the presence of his followers who, out of a sense of sheer loyalty to their fallen chief, had sacrificed their all and chosen to share his misfortunes.

Thus prevented from immediate retirement into seclusion, he had for the present only one other course to adopt. It was to write to the Shāh of Persia, Tahmasp Al-Ḥusainī,[5] and to request him for shelter in his dominions.[6] Humāyūn hoped that his appeal would be listened to; should it turn out otherwise, he determined to retire into a hermitage. So the letter, written in verse, was full of humility and for this reason probably has not been reproduced in full by any writer. Only *Jauhar* renders its brief summary which may be given here:

"This is a memorial of Muḥammad Humāyūn who, after an offer of sincere prayers for your Majesty's welfare as is due from a person of distinction and sincere well-wisher, begs to observe that he feels overwhelmed with a feeling of shame though he is full of honest intentions. Though he looks only a particle of dust in the presence of your Majesty's refulgent glory and magnificence, he hopes much from your ocean-like virtues. It is true that in the past he had not counted himself among the slaves of the high office (*i.e.*, of the

[1] See Blochmann, p. 384, for his biography. He was one of the early finance ministers of Akbar and had risen to the rank of 2,500. Later on he was murdered by the orders of Munim Khān and Bairam Khān.

[2] *G.H.N.* gives the details of his possessions, a string of mules, another of horses, tents, etc. He had also some cash. See also *T.A.*, and *T.Kh.T.*

[3] *T.A.*, and *T.Kh.T.*

[4] *A.N.*, p. 212. *Jauhar* says he was made Superintendent of the palaces. If so, بیوتات, palaces, must mean here the travelling tents that Humāyūn had with him.

[5] The title Al-Ḥusainī is given by Farishta (N. K. edition), p. 220.

[6] The suggestion of appeal to the Shāh came from Bairam *Khān*. See *M.R.*, p. 575.

Shāh of Persia) yet he had always borne the collar of friendship and of attachment and clung to you like lead. He had always tried to earn your good-will with elegant presents.

At length, the wheel of the times and of the colourless sky had drawn the petitioner away from the spacious Hindustān to the narrow and gloomy Sind:

> What has passed over our head, has passed.
> Whether by river or by hill or by wilderness.[1]

Now the bird of his ambition spreads its wings to have a sight of your sun of dignity and magnificence and he hopes that God in His mercy will allow him to meet his friend, munificent like a river, and, in the meeting, he hopes to relate to you what he has to relate.

Verses

(1) O king! O my high-gifted monarch! my soul has fixed its abode in thy armour strong as the fabulous mount of Qāf.

(2) The ignoble and deceitful[2] fortune has forced me[3] to be content with millet.

(3) My foe is now bold. For a long while he had his back turned on me. Now he has turned his face to me in hostility.

(4) At this moment I have one request to make of the Shāh and it is that he might do to me what 'Alī had done to Salmān in the forest of Arzhan.' "[4]

Having written his appeal, Humāyūn sent it by Jai Bahādur[5] on Shawwal 1, 950 (December 28, 1543). He had intended to continue to stay in Garmsīr until he received a reply to his letter from the Shāh. But Askarī's movements did not allow him any rest. Mīr Abdul Hai, who had already shown consideration to him[6] and had relieved his

[1] که گذشت بر سر ما انچه گذشت - چه بدریا و چه بکهسار و چه دشت

M.R. has a slightly different wording:

بسر ما بگذشت انچه گذشت - چه بکوه چه بدریا چه بدشت

[2] Lit., one who displays wheat but sells barley.

[3] Lit., I who like a parrot would ordinarily subsist on sweets and fruits.

[4] 'Alī had saved Salmān's life from the attack of a lion. For Salmān's influence on the evolution of sects in Islām, see Lammen's *Islām*, pp. 171-72. *Badāūnī* has a slightly different wording of the verses and adds the following line taken from a quatrain written by Humāyūn:

شاها همه سایهٔ هما میخواهند - بنگر که هما آمده در سایهٔ تو

[5] *R.T.* calls him Chūlī Bahādur, *N.M.* Jabai Bahādur and *M.R.* Kōkī Bahādur.

[6] See *supra*. On Humāyūn's return from Persia, he was one of the first to do homage to him with a quiver bound round his neck. See *A.N.*

distress, now represented that Askarī had been reported to be approaching with a large army [1] and added that if the report was correct, Humāyūn might be irretrievably lost. So, on his advice, the fugitive chief moved into the province of Sīstān,[2] for it belonged to the Shāh of Persia and as such was protected from Askarī's raids. After crossing the river Halmand, he halted by the lake of the same name.[3]

Aḥmad Sultān Shāmlū, the Persian governor of Sīstān, was probably aware of the Mughal chief's appeal to the Shāh and, so expecting a favourable reply, tendered his hospitality on behalf of his master. Humāyūn was placed in a spacious residence, was offered the revenue of the province for his expenses and was entertained with the principal amusement of the locality, *viz.*, the sport of catching waterfowl. Aḥmad sent even his mother and wife to wait on Ḥamīda Bānū[4] and his brother, Ḥusain Qulī Mirzā,[5] greatly pleased the Mughal chief by a present of some books and also by making a commonsense answer to his questions. Humāyūn once asked him about the representative merits of Sunnism and Shiism. Ḥusain's observations on the subject were that whereas the Shias actually reviled the companions of Muḥammad and considered it to be a pious and meritorious act, the Sunnīs considered any such act to be that of a *kāfir*. Ḥusain argued that one decision was against the other but since the Shias only promised reward for the curses as against the Sunnī threats of heinous punishment for behaving as a *kāfir*, it was well to be cautious, to forego the reward, and under no circumstances to risk the suspicion of being a *kāfir*.[6]

[1] According to *Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh* by Ḥasan Rumlu (*R.A.T.*) many of Humāyūn's friends بادشاہ مخلصان gave him information about Askarī.

[2] He had with him now only a handful of followers. *A.N.*'s list is fuller than most of the others and it counts 38 persons in all. Jauhar makes it 40 men and 2 women. Of the 2 women, one was Ḥamīda Bānū and the other wife of 'Alī Ishaq Āqā, a Baluch woman who proved a useful interpreter during the journey. *G.H.N* calls the latter wife of Ḥasaan 'Alī.

[3] According to the *G.H.N.*, as soon as Humāyūn reached the Halmand all classes of the Shāh's subjects received him.

[4] He gave many presents according to Jauhar, the most priceless being a mare bearing the name Lailat-ul-Qadr.

[5] *A.N. M.R. T.A.*, expresses Aḥmad Sultān Shamlu's services in these words

احمد سلطان شاملو زیادہ بر وسع و امکان بلوازم مہمانداری قیام نمودہ عورات خود را
برسم کنیزان بخدمتگاری حضرت مریم مکانی فرستادہ و جمیع اسباب و جہات خود را
پیشکش کردہ خود در سلک غلامان درگاہ در آمد -

[6] The punishment after death for *kufr* is to be placed eternally in fire. See the Quran, 64. 10, 66.9, 4.56. For details, see Bayazīd Biāt, *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh* (*B.B.T.H.B.*).

Having once entered the Shāh's territory of his own accord, it would have been unwise for Humāyūn to retrace his steps to Zamīndāwar, belonging to Askarī.[1] But such were the proposals of two of the newcomers, Bābā Qashqa's sons, Hājī Muḥammad and Ḥasan Kōka. They representated that Amīr Bēg, the governor of Zamīndāwar, and Chalma Beg, the commandant of Bist, both would transfer their services to Humāyūn, if only he made a move in their direction and that their examples would be taken up so generally that the fall of Qandahār would be a foregone conclusion. It is a credit to Humāyūn's intelligence that he rejected their advice and denied audience to them as a mark of his displeasure and continued firm in his proposed journey to Persia and Irāq. The ever loyal Bairam Khān encouraged Humāyūn in his resolution.

Humāyūn's shortest route to the Shāh's capital lay through the desert lands of Dasht-i-Lūt and Dasht-i-Kabīr. But as he had already fully experienced the privations of the waterless tracts in his journey through Rājputāna, he had no mind for another experience of a similar nature. So he proposed to travel northward to Khurāsān wherein lay the far-famed cities of Herāt or Herī, Mashad, Jām, Nīshāpūr, etc. The journey would enable him to visit the city of Herāt that had flourished under his kinsman, Sultān Ḥusain Baiqarā, and also to pay his respects at Mashad to the tomb of 'Alī Razā, the 8th Shia Imām, and at Jām to that of Shaikh Aḥmad and thus show to the world his own liberal views in the matters of faith. Humāyūn was certain that the Shāh who was proud of the three cities would be rather glad when he would learn the cause of Humāyūn's delay in reaching his capital.

When Humāyūn reached Farah [2] on 12th *Zulqada* 950 (6th February, 1544),[3] the Shāh's reply came to his appeal. When Humāyūn's petition reached him he was grateful to God for sending to him as a supplicant a king ' from the spacious domain of India.' The Shāh's reply has been given in full by more than one writer.[4] Though pompously worded in accordance with the epistolary usage of the

[1] According to *Jauhar*, Aḥmad Sultān Shāmlū desired Humāyūn to stay in Sīstān, as he expected many deserters from Askarī's camp.

[2] Here lies buried Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr, the founder of Mahdism in India. He died in 1505. For an interesting description of his Mahdism and of the sufferings of one of his disciples, Shaikh Alāī, see *Badāūnī*, pp. 394-405.

[3] *R.T.* gives the date of receipt of Humāyūn's letter by the Shāh to be 12th *Zilhijja* 952 (February 14, 1546) which is evidently wrong.

[4] *A.N.*, *B.B.T.H.B.*, *M.R.*, *R.T.*, *T.S.A.*, *M.A.*

time, the generous intentions of the Shāh run unmistakably through its pages. We may be excused from quoting the lengthy and wearisome details and shall content ourselves with pointing out a few of its essential features:

(*a*) A couplet from Hāfiz's odes was quoted as a superscription. The couplet runs as

همای اوج سعادت بدام ما افتد * اگر ترا گذری بر مقام ما افتد

Tr. A *huma* of auspicious soaring falls into our net.
If for thee there chance a passage to our abode.[1]

(*b*) Humāyūn is addressed in the Shāh's letter as Bādshāh, Nūwāb-ī-Ramyab, Āṅ Ḥazrat, Jahānbānī Jannat Āshiānī.[2] The Shāh refers to himself as Nūwāb.[3]

(*c*) The Mughal ex-king was treated as a distinguished guest and the district of Sabzwar was specially assigned to the governor of Khurāsān, Prince Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā or his deputy, Muḥammad Khān Sharafuddīn Oghlī Taklu,[4] for meeting the expenses of entertaining the guest and his followers. Offerings were made on a profuse scale, *e.g.*, on the first occasion when Muḥammad Khān met the Mughal chief, the following gifts were made on behalf of the Shāh:—

(1) 6 horses with azure and embroidered saddles and with housings of gold brocade;

[1] Any other line of this ode might have been quoted:—

حباب وار بر اندازم از نشاط کلاه * اگر از روی تو عکس بجام ما افتد
ببارگاه تو چون باد را نباشد راه * کی اتفاق مجال سلام ما افتد
چو جان فدای لبت شد خیال می بستم * که قطرهٔ ز زلالت بکام ما افتد
خیال زلف تو گفتا که جان مساز * کزین شکار فراوان بدام ما افتد
ملوک را چو رهٔ خاکبوس این نیست * کی التفات جواب سلام ما افتد
بنا امیدی ازین در مرو بزن فالے * بود که قرعهٔ دولت بنام ما افتد
شبی که ماه مراد از افق طلوع کند * بود که پرتو نوری ببام ما افتد
ز خاک کوی تو هرگه که دم زند حافظ * نسیم گلشن جان در مشام ما افتد

[2] Jahānbāni Jannatāshiānī was especially used for Humāyūn after his death.

[3] The title of Nūwāb, deputy, was adopted by the Shia Shāhs; because, according to them, the true ruler was the immortal Al-Mahdī. See Lammen's *Islām*, pp. 145-51.

[4] The prince, the eldest son of the Shāh, was a minor and the deputy was his tutor, لالا, or guardian اتالیق. See *T.A.*, p. 58; *T.S.A.*; *T.Kh.T.*

(2) A special side-dagger which once had belonged to Shāh Ismaīl, also a golden scimetar and a jewelled girdle;

(3) 400 pieces of velvet and satin of Europe and Yazd which were to be converted into 120 coats for Humāyūn and others for his followers;

(4) two piles of gold brocaded velvet carpets;

(5) coverlets of goat's hair with satin linings;

(6) 3 pairs of large carpets 12 cubits square;

(7) 4 goshkam carpets of fine silk;

(8) 12 tents, crimson, green, and white.

Other gifts were made by the prince-governor and his officials; sometimes the Shāh made a gift of the whole camp as it stood with all its paraphernalia.[1] On some occasions birds like falcon and hawk were presented. The Mughal chief's followers were not excluded from this munificence, *e.g.*, at Herat the prince Sultān Moḥammad gave silk *khilats*, clothes, a horse suitable to the rank of the person and 3 *tumāns* [2] to every Mughal follower.

(*d*) Elaborate arrangements were made by the Shāh for Humāyūn's reception and as a model instruction, he gave the minutest details of what the governor of Khurāsān was expected to do:—

(1) Minute details were furnished regarding Humāyūn's food, *e.g.*, it was mentioned that the guests should be given sweet and pleasant drinks and white loaves, kneaded with milk and butter and seasoned with fennel and poppy seeds. At every halt the Mughal chief was to be supplied with rose-water sharbat and lemon-juice cooled with snow and ice and, after the sharbat, were to be offered apples, water melons, grapes with white loaves. At dinner there were to be at least 500 dishes of food. On special State occasions, the number of dishes was to be increased to 1,500, but if an official was to provide for the expenses, the number of dishes might be reduced to 1,200. The governor of Herāt's entertainment was to be on an extravagant scale, *e.g.*, the number of dishes was to be 3,000. After a dinner were to be provided sweetmeats, comfits, various conserves and 'Chinese threads'[2] perfumed with rose-water, musk, and grey ambergis. The high officials were to entertain the State guests by turn.

(*e*) The minutest details about Humāyūn's reception by the people of Persia were settled by the Shāh. For example, when

[1] This might be a mere complimentary statement, for among the presents is mentioned 'the army'.

[2] *Tumān* is the standard gold coin of Persia equal to 10 francs of France.

Humāyūn approached the provincial headquarters, *e.g.*, Herāt, first of all, 500 ' prudent and experienced men ' were to go forth several miles ahead to welcome the king. After 3 days, Muḥammad Khān, the deputy governer, was to go forward with his children and accompanied by 1,000 followers. All the officers on approaching the Mughal chief were ' to kiss the ground ' and were to render service as they would do to their own master. When the Mughals would come still nearer, *i.e.*, at 12 *farsang* [1] from Herāt, the other citizens numbering 30,000 to go forth to welcome them. [2] On the day of Humāyūn's arrival at Herāt, the prince-governor was to ride forth with a large retinue. He was to dismount at the sight of the guest, to go near and kiss his thigh and stirrup, and ' to show all the points of service and respect and honour.' The prince was to ride close to the Mughal chief [3] and the deputy was to be near the prince so that any question put by the chief, if not answered by the prince, might be attended to by his deputy. On the fourth day of his residence in Herāt, the guest was to be given a still more signal public welcome, *i.e.*, ' all the men and women of the city shall assemble . . . in the Avenue and that in every shop and bazar, where carpets and cloths shall be spread in order, the women and maidens will be seated . . . . And from every ward and lane let the masters of melody come forth . . . . And bid all the people come forth ' to offer welcome. The instructions were actually carried out ; for we are told that when Humāyūn rode from the Ziāratgāh to Pul-i-Malan and thence to Jaḥānāra garden, a distance of 3 or 4 leagues, the whole plain and the heights in the neighbourhood were filled with spectators from the city and the villages.

The instructions further added that during the guest's stay in the city, he was to be kept engaged and amused by the noted singers, musicians and instrumentalists, and every important person of the district was to be available for interview with him. In fact every ' genial and sweet-spoken person ' was to be assiduous in entertaining him.

(3) The city of Herāt was to be lavishly decorated as an expression of the nation's joy. There was to be *chahār-tāq-bandi* [4] from the gate

[1] It is an indifinite measure of distance of about 12,000 cubits or 3½ miles. Twelve *forsang* would be more than 40 miles.

[2] *Jauhar* makes the general statement that people of all ages from 7 to 70 years were to proceed to welcome the king.

[3] But the head and the neck of the prince's horse was to be behind those of Humāyūn's.

[4] Whatever the phrase might mean. Beveridge thinks it to mean an edifice with 4 domes. *Tāq* might also mean an arch, so the phrase would mean an erection with four arches.

of the Chahārbāgh, where lay the royal palace to the Khiyābān where was situated the Bāgh-'Īdgāh.[1]

(4) A news-writer was to remain attached to Humāyūn's train. His duty would be to note down in the form of a diary all the details of Humāyūn's reception from the day that the 500 received the Mughal chief to the day when he entered the city. When the diary was completed it was to be sealed and despatched to the Shāh.

(5) Muḥamad Khān, the deputy governor, was to entertain Humāyūn in Herāt and those of Ghuriān, Fushang, Kashu, in their respective headquarters, Where the governors were too poor individually to incur the expenses of the lavish entertainment as prescribed by the Shāh, several of them were to combine together, *e.g.*, those of Khāf, Tarshiz, Zāwahā,[2] and Muhawwalāt were to entertain together at a place other than their headquarters. Wherever possible some nobles were to play the host.[3]

Humāyūn had reached Herāt on 20th *Zulqada* (14th February, 1544) [4] and even on 1st *Zulhijja* (25th February) was there. He was interested in the city which had only a few decades back been the capital of a Tīmūrid prince.[5] As the Persian festival of the New Year was near, he chose to stay in Herāt till its end.[6] There were frequent assemblies in Humāyūn's palace. In the first meeting, Sābir Qāq, a famous reciter, chanted one of the odes of Amīr Shāhī,[7] which begins with

مبارک منزلے کان خانه را ماهے چنین باشد
همایون کشورے کان عرصه را شاهے چنین باشد

Tr. Blessed the abode to which such a moon hath come
August the dominions where there is such a Shāh

[1] The royal palace would form the heart of the city and Bāgh-'Īdgāh would be at one extreme end of the city and so from the one end to the other it would be a considerable distance.

[2] *M.R.* calls it Zāwah.

[3] As *T.A.* says :

مقرر شد که از دامغان تا اردوی شاهی در هر منزل یکی از ایشان (اکابر و اعیان و اشراف) بلوازم مهمانداری قیام نمایند -

T.Kh.T. also makes a similar statement.

[4] *Kh.T.* has 1st *Zulqada* 955 A.H. (December 2, 1548), evidently an incorrect date.

[5] Herāt contained the tomb of Khwāja Abdullāh Anṣārī. See *Kh.T.* According to *T.S.A.*, the city stretched 3 or 4 *farsang*, *i.e.*, 10 or 14 miles. The date 20th *Zulqada* is given by *R.A.T.*

[6] *Jauhar* says that Humāyūn stayed in Herāt for a month.

[7] For Amīr Shāhī's life and diwān, see *B.M. Catalogue*, *Vol. I*, p. 640a.

Another line was:

ز رنج و راحت گیتی مرنجان دل مشو خرم
که آئین جهان گاهے چنان گاهے چنین باشد

Tr. Be neither grieved nor overjoyed at pain or pleasure of this world ;
For the mode of the world is that now one will prevail and now the other.[1]

When Ṣābir repeated this verse, Humāyūn, remembering the ups and downs of his own life, was deeply touched and though short of funds 'poured into the skirts of Ṣābir's hopes.' During his stay, Humāyūn took the opportunity to meet 'many of the ascetics, religious persons, lofty-souled men and famous men of learning.'

Humāyūn's stay had been fairly long in Herāt, so when the festivities of the New Year were over, he started for holy Mashad.[2] On the way he stopped at Jām (March 29),[3] where lay buried Ḥaẓrat Shaikh Aḥmad, the saintly ancestor of both his mother, Māham Bēgam and of his wife Ḥamida Bānū. Then he passed on to Mashad, one of the most sacred pilgrimages for a Shia.[4] On his approach, the governor, Shāh Qulī Sultān Istajlu, accompanied by the leading Ṣayyids of the town, received him with due honour. He arrived in Mashad on the 15th Muḥarram, 950 (April 8, 1544). Here he stayed for full forty days.[5]

Jauhar describes Humāyūn's first visit to the Imām's tomb, when he was accompanied by five of his followers including the writer himself. At first he was not admitted to the mortuary chamber ; for the chain that fastened the door would not loosen ; but when the king, after a prayer, opened it, he was admitted. He then went

[1] Browne, in his *Literary History of Persia*, quotes two of his verses, one an elegy on his patron Bāīsungar Mirzā's death and the other a Qaṣīda showing his conceit. See *B.L.H.P.*, pp. 499 and 501. Daulat Shāh's appreciation of Amīr Shāhī is in these words : 'Scholars are agreed that in the verse of Amīr Shāhī are combined the ardour of Khusrau, the grace of Ḥasan, the delicacy of Kamāl and the clarity of Ḥāfiz.'

[2] *Kh.T.*, *T.Kh.T.*, *T.S.A.* and *M.T.* call it Mashad-i-Tūs ; *Jauhar* says that Humāyūn was now accompanied by Bubaq Bēg, one of Ubaid Khan of Turān's nobles.

[3] For Beveridge's correction of the date as given in *A.N.*, see. p. 434, n. 4.

[4] Here lies buried the 8th Shia Imām, 'Ali or Raẓā bin Mūsā al Kāzim. *N.M.* calls the Imam

امام همام عالیمقام سلطان اولیا الله العظام

[5] *Jauhar.*

round the tomb and afterwards sat down to read the Qurān. He ended his visit with a menial service, *viz.*, snuffing the candle, burning by the actual tomb.[1] The visit to Mashad must have been highly gratifying to his Shia wife, Ḥamīda Bānū. Humāyūn was in no hurry and, if allowed, would have extended his stay at Mashad, but an order came from the Shāh that the Mughal chief should be asked to hasten to Kazvīn in order to meet him.

So from Mashad he passed on rapidly to Nīshāpūr in two days, where he visited the turquoise mines in the neighbourhood ; to Sabzawār in 7 days ; to Dāmghān in 3 days.[2] From Dāmghān he retraced his steps north-eastward and went to Bistām in order to visit the tomb of the saint Taifur-bin-'Īsā, popularly known as Bayazīd or Abu Yazīd. He was a Mujtahid of his time and later on founded one of the orders known as the Taifurī order,[3] and was known as the Bahr-i-tāmī, the swelling ocean. Next he visited Samnām where lay the tomb of Shaikh Alāuddaula Samnāmī and retraced his steps further eastward in order to reach Sūfīābād where the Shaikh had written his work entitled Urwat-li-Ahl-il-khilwat-wal-jalwat in 1321 A.D.[4] So far the Mughal chief had visited only those places were lay the shrines of divine worshippers.[5] Next he went to Rai,[6] Aghzwār, Maimana, Dars, and finally, after a pause, to Kazvīn, the Shāh's capital. As a matter of policy, Humāyūn had sent Bairam Khān forward to meet the Shāh in Kazvīn as his *vakīl*. It was rather unfortunate that at the very first meeting, some differences arose between the two. The

1 *B.B.T.H.B.* also describes the snuffing of the candles.

2 The story of throwing dirt into a well and causing a storm to spring up thereby has been repeated by every writer. A Similar story has been mentioned earlier about a spring in Ghazni in Mahmud Ghuznavi's time. Bābur, less credulous than others, made enquiries about the latter, but could find no trace of it.

3 For some of Bayazīd's Sufistic utterances, see *B.L.H.P.*, pp. 426-28. A few are quoted here :

'I am the throne of God.....'
'I am the Truth ; I am the true God '
'I must be celebrated by Divine Praises '
'Verily I am God : there is no God but me, therefore worship me.'

Seven times Bayazīd had been expelled from Bistām but each time he returned.

4 See *A.A.*, Vol III, by Jarrett, p. 376 and n. 1; also *B.M. Catalogue*, 413a, 439a, 620a. The Shaikh had to his credit one historical work on the Persian kings of Samnām.

5 As the author of *M.R.* on p. 576 says:

این توفیق ایشان را میسر بود ٭ که در سفر و حضر پیوسته بزیارت خدا پرستان توسل میداشتند و بظاهر و باطن با زندهٔ دلان صحبت میداشته اند -

6 Where had died the ascetic Abdullāh in 320 A.H. See Jarrett, *A.A.*, *III.*, p. 352, n. 2.

Shāh wished Bairam Khān to cut his hair short and to wear the special Shia cap popularly known as the Tāj ; but the latter protested on the ground that he was a servant of some one else without whose consent he could not agree to the request. The Shāh was displeased with the answer and gruffly told Bairam Khān to please himself and in order to further terrify him killed some heretics known as Chirāgh-kush.[1] He also grew cold to his Mughal guest and ordered him to stay where he was but to send Bubaq Bēg on to him. It was when Bubak reached Kazvīn that the Shāh was somewhat mollified and sent further orders to Humāyūn to proceed to his capital.

It was midsummer and the Shāh had moved on to his summer headquarters, Sultāniya [2] and Sūrlīq ; in the mean time he had sent gifts to his guest and had asked his nobles and common subjects to give a hearty welcome in his stead.[3] Humāyūn stayed for three days in the house of the Kalāntar, the magistrate, Khwāja Abdul Ghanī.[4] Then he moved on for the Shāh's camp and, after a whole night's travel, halted and encamped in the morning. From Bairam Khān, who joined him now, he learnt that he was close to the Shāh's camp and that the Shāh's subjects were presently coming to welcome him. So Humāyūn hastily got ready to meet them in his Diwān-Khāna. First the *vakīls* of Sultāns, *i.e.*, the nobles, paid him a visit, next those of the Khāns, next of the Mirzās and last of all, the chief Sayyids. When later on Humāyūn had reached the Shāh's camp, he was received again in the same order, *e.g.*, by the Sultāns first and then by the Khāns and lastly by the Mirzās.

Humāyūn moved on to Sultāniya but the Shāh had gone to encamp in the open between Sultāniya and Abhar,[5] about 20 miles south-east of the former town. When the Mughal chief finally moved on for the Shāh's camp, he was received in due order first by the nobles and then by the Sayyids and the learned and then by the Shāh's brothers, Bahrām M., Alqās M.[6] and Sām M. Bahrām M. presented

[1] The tenets of the Chirāgh-kushes are not definitely known. From the phrase it might be supposed that they were immoral and committed sins after the lights had been put out. See Erskine, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 287 n.

[2] Sultāniya, Zenjan, Rai, Abhar are mentioned in *Jarrett, A.A.*, Vol. III.

[3] At Kazvīn, on the first day the *kalāntar*, on the second the *qāzī*, and on the third the citizens in a body played the host.

[4] Even the Shāh had formerly stayed in this house.

[5] *A.N., M R., Farishta.* The place named Bīlāq Sūrlīq was situated on the river Abhar, *Badāūnī* calls the meeting Ilaq Surtaq, and *T.S.A.* Sārūq Bīlāq.

[6] *G.H.N.* and *R.A.T.*

an unbroken horse and made a request that Humāyūn should enter the city riding on it. It was the Shāh's subtle way of testing his guest's skill as a rider. Humāyūn not comprehending the purport of the request, agreed and easily controlled the fiery horse and thus came out successful through the ordeal. Even the commonest citizen came and saluted the ex-king in the Arab fashion which, according to *Jauhar*, indicated a greater sense of equality among the Persians.

The Shāh himself now came forward to receive his royal guest, *Jumādal-awwal*, 951 (July, 1544).[1] The first durbar in which the two kings met was held in a picture gallery newly constructed. Humāyūn was seated on the Shāh's right and put on the Shia tāj[2] and took food along with his host, who, after the dinner, prostrated himself in gratitude to God for bringing a king like Humāyun to his kingdom. The guest was staying with Bahrām M. who presented three *sar-o-pas* to him. The next day, when the Shāh was about to make a move to Sultāniya, the Mughal chief went to bid him farewell; but the Shāh paid no attention to him and the chief qāzi[3] explained Shāh Tahmāsp's rudeness as due to the ill-behaviour of Humāyūn's followers. As the Mughal chief considered it partly due to sectarian differences between himself, a liberal Muslim, and the Shāh, a fanatical Shia, Humāyūn now protested to the qāzi his faith in the Imāms and later on declared himself a Shia in the Shāh's presence.

The poet Mirzā Qāsim Gūnābādi has described the first interview of the two kings in the following lines:—

Tr.

دو صاحب قران در یکی بزمگاه * قرآن کرده باهم چوخورشید و ماه
دو نور بصر چشم اقبال را * دو عید مبارک مه و سال را
دو کوکب کز ایشان فلک راست زین * بهم در یکی عرصه چون فرقدین
دو چشم جهانی بهم همعنان * بهم چون دو ابرو تواضع کنان
دو سعد فلک را یکی برج جای * دو والا گهر را یکی درج جای

[1] *B.B.T.H.B.* says that the meeting took place at Zanjan, *T.A.* at Bīlāq Sūrlīq. See also *R.A.T.* for other details.
[2] *Jauhar.*
[3] *M. A.* says that he was وکیل مطلق العنان of the Shāh.

Tr.

1. Two Lords of conjunction in one banquet hall
   Living together like the sun and the moon.
2. Fortune's two beloved sons
   Two blessed *Ids*, solar and lunar
3. Two Stars which deck the sky
   Are together like Farqadain [1]
4. Two eyes of the world, equal in every respect
   Joining in courtesy like the two eye-brows.
5. Two Stars in one zodiacal sign
   Two glorious pearls in one casket.

Presents on an extravagant scale were again made by the Shāh [2] to his guest and his followers. In the conversation that followed, the Shāh made appreciative remarks on his guest's valour and military skill [3] and attributed his misfortunes not to any fault of his but to the disloyalty of his brothers. [4] He remainded him of their long-standing friendship, besought him to look upon him as his younger brother, assured him of every help, and even of personal service, if necessary.

After the durbar was over, other festivities, renewed from day, to day, were held. Tahmāsp entered personally into all the details with the result that many entertainments of a novel kind were arranged and no money was spared to make them a success. All that Parsian craft and skill could invent were there to add to the dignity of the occasions. [5]

Humāyūn had met with such a lavish hospitality and had been the cause of such a heavy expenditure to the Shāh and his subjects that he now felt it incumbent on him to make compensations for this huge expanditure by an offer of suitable presents to his host. So he offered through Bairam Khān a large diamond,[6] other smaller diamonds, 250 Badakhshān rubies and a number of pearls, which all taken together was probabably worth more than all the expenses incurred on his account during his stay in Persia.

[1] The two bright stars β and γ of Ursa minor.
[2] *A.N.*, *T.S.A.* and T. *Kh.T.*
[3] *T.S.A.*
[4] *R.T.*, *Farishta* and several others give a different version. *M.J.N.* makes the Shāh observe that it was his guest's sword that had obtained Hindustān for the Mughals.
[5] See *A.N.* for the details of the festivities.
[6] Beveridge quotes British Museum MSS. No. 153 to identify it with Bābur's diamond or with *Kohi-noor*, which may be correct; for *M.J.N.* and *T.S.A.* remark that it came into

Then the two kings travelled together to Sultāniya where another series of festivities was held, among which may be mentioned the *qamarghah* hunts. The order in which the different parties entered the arena has been carefully noted. First, the Shāh and the Mughal chief, then Bahrām M. [1] and Sām M., and then after them Khwāja Muazzam, Bairam Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Kōkī, Roshan Kōkā, Ḥasan Kōkā and several others of Mughal followers. With them also entered a few of the Shāh's officers, *e.g.*, Abdullāh Khān Istājlu, son-in-law of the late Shāh Isma'īl, Abul Qāsim Khalifā, Sundak Sultān, Qūrchī Bāshī Afshār, Badar Khān Istājlu and Shāh Qulī Mohardar. Last of all, a general permission was granted to the commonalty to enter and enjoy the game. Even the commonest troopers got interested in securing their game. [2] Other *qamarghahs* followed and also manly sports like polo and archery. In the last Bairam Khān and Ḥāji Muḥammad Kōkī especially distinguished themselves and obtained titles as a reward.[3]

All this time there had been going on a discussion in Tahmāsp's court as to whether the Shāh was to support his guest's cause or not. Most of the Persian nobles were against the proposal, their reasons being, if Jauhar is to be believed, that firstly Bābur, the guest's father, had played false and had Najm-i-ṣānī killed,[4] secondly Kāmrān had already written to the Shāh promising to return Qandahār so that, without shedding any Īranī blood in Humāyūn's cause, a coveted district might be obtained; thirdly that Humāyūn, now a humble suppliant, was once, after his return from Gujrāt, so conceited as to proclaim himself a king greater than the Shāh. Such a foolish person deserved no support. Even Bahrām Mirzā, the next brother to the

Humāyūn's possession at the time of the conquest of Hindustān. *A.N.* considers it 'worth the revenues of countries and climes.' The Shāh sent it again as a present to Niẓām Shāh of the Deccan. See also *Jauhar*. According to *G.H.N.*, fol. 61b, Humāyūn made the presents in order to please the Shāh whose mind had been turned against himself by khwāja ghazī and Roshan Kōka. But Humāyūn, to the Shāh's surprise, excused them. *R.A.T.* gives the weight of the diamond as 4 misqals and 4 dangs. This would be equivalent to about 7 drams.

1 The writers relate how Bahrām M. treacherously shot Abul Qāsim khalfā.

2 According to *B.B.T.H.B.*, the first *qamarghah* must lasted for 7 days.

3 Bairam khān, who was a Bēg so long, now got the title of khān and the Ḥājī that of Sultān. According to *R.A.T.*, Bairam also got طبل و علم و بارگاہ

4 See *B.N.*, p. 361.

Shāh, was prejudiced against the guest.[1] It was mainly due to the Shāh's sister, Shāhzāda Sultānam,[2] that the discussion ended in Humāyūn's favour. She emphasized the Mughal chief's interest in 'Alī and quoted the verse

مائیـــم ز جان بنـده علی * هستیم همیشه خرم از یاد علی
چون سر ولایت از علی ظاهر شد * کردیم همیشه ورد خود یاد علی

Tr. Wholeheartedly am I a bondsman of 'Alī's progeny.
Am always happy in remembrance of 'Alī,
As none but 'Alī comprehended the secret teachings of the Prophet.
It is well that I constantly repeat on the rosary the name of 'Alī.[3]

At the end of the festivities, the Shāh handed to Humāyūn a list of the troopers, with their officers, who had been chosen to aid him in recovering his lost territories[4] and other sets of gifts were made.[5] Then a third *qamarghah* hunt was enjoyed[6] and the Shāh bid farewell to Humāyūn at Miām.[7]

But Humāyūn was not in a hurry to leave Persia. Either because he had grown more spiritual and less materialistic or because he wished to show his regard and veneration for the illustrious ancestors of the Shāh, he now chose to go to Tabrīz and Ardibīl and directed Ḥājī Muḥammad Kōkī to go direct to Qandahār with Ḥamīda Bānū. The Persian soldiers in the mean time were ordered to get their accoutrements and to join the Mughal chief on the bank of the river Halmand. Humāyūn first went to Tabrīz which once had belonged to the Tīmūrid prince, Mīran Shāh Mirzā. At Tabrīz he visited the dam across the stream that flowed from the Sahand mountains,

[1] See *Farishta* (N K. Press), p. 236; *Badāūnī* (*B.I.S.*), p. 444; kh.*T.*, *T.Kh.T.*, *T.S.A. S.S.*, *R.T. Jauhar* makes him agreeable to Humāyūn's interests.

[2] *N.M.* Note that she is addressed as Shāhzāda and not Shāhzādī. She was usually present in the *qamarghah* hunts, taking her stand on horse-back behind her brother, the Shāh. She played the hostess to Ḥamīda Bānū and her regard for the Bānū interested her in the Bānū's husband. For the details, see *G.H.N.*, fol. 58a and b, 59a and b.

[3] There are small variations noticeable among the writers when they quote the quatrain; *e.g.*, some have preferred کاشکاد in place of خرم از and ناد in place of یاد

[4] The numbers of soldiers varies from 10,000 to 14,000. Only *T.Kh.T.* puts it at 20,000. The names of the officers are given in *A.N.* and *B.B.T.H.B.* Bayazīd Biāt was with Humāyūn in Persia.

[5] See *R.A.T.*

[6] According to *G.H.N.*, there were 8 *qamarghahs* in all. Ḥamīda Bānū enjoyed them seated on a camel or in a horse litter.

[7] Situated in Azarbaijān, it will be seen that the 3 *qamarghah* hunts enclosed an area of more than 100 miles in length. *Jauhar* makes a mention how occasionally Humāyūn played the host and how once he presented a diamond ring to Bahrām M.

also the chief market known as Bāzār-i-Qaisaria and the Dome of Syria.[1] The city was, like other places *en fete* in honour of the distinguished guest and, besides the usual sports, new ones, peculiar to the locality, *e.g.*, hockey and wolf-dancing, were enjoyed. Tabrīz, once the premier city of Īrān, now lay in ruins, mainly as the result of its many earthquakes, and Humāyūn, while passing from one ruin to another, was reminded of the following verse:

افسوس که سرمایه ز کف بیرون شد
وز دست اجل بسے جگرها خون شد
کسی نامد ازان جهان که تا پرسم ازو
کاحوال مسافران عالم چون شد

Tr. Alas that the substance hath slipped from the palm.
And that many persons have bled at death's hand.
None cometh from the other world that I may enquire
How it fared with the travellers thereto.[2]

Here in Tabrīz he met Khwāja Abdus Ṣamad who already had earned a name as a painter and a calligraphist[3] and later in life became Akbar's court-painter and founder of a school of painting. Humāyūn, who was a connoisseur of art, invited him to join him. This he declined for the present. Possibly because the inviter was without any territory of his own and was dependent on another's charity for his subsistence. He joined him later on in Kābul.

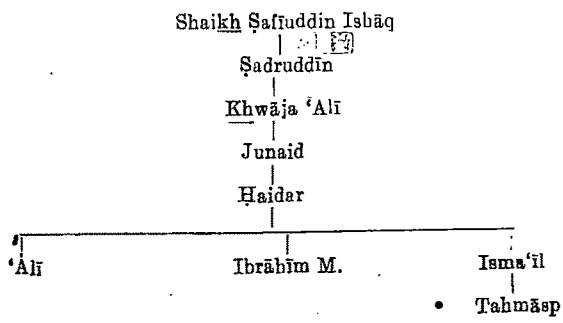
Thence, after a four days' journey,[4] he reached Ardibīl. There he stayed for a week and was met by all the Shaikhzādas of the place.[5]

[1] *Jauhar*. He says that it was built with the materials brought from Syria.
[2] *M.J.N.* has سر رشته instead of سر مایه. See also *T.S.A.*

[3] Son of Khwāja Niẓāmul-mulk, who had been a *vazīr* of a local prince of Shīrāz. In Akbar's time he was a very influential courtier, though holding a *manṣab* of 400 only. He was a poet and member of the Dīn-i-ilāhī. His son, Muḥammad Sharīf, was the *Amīrul-umarā* in Jahāngīr's reign.

[4] *Jauhar*.

[5] *i.e.*, the descendants of Shaikh Ṣafīuddīn Ishāq. The genealogy of Shāh Tahmāsp from the Shaikh is



Shaikh Safīuddīn Ishāq brought the family into fame and his son Ṣadruddīn Ṣafi was esteemed by Tīmūr. Humāyūn visited the two tombs[1] as well as that of Shāh Isma'īl. He next visited Tāram, Kharzbīl, and Surkhāb and then reached Kazvīn again, where accidentally the Shāh had also arrived at the same time. Since the latter had bid adieu to his royal guest, he was not a little surprised to see him lingering yet in the Persian capital. So now he sent a peremptory order to Humāyūn to make a move, and this the latter did. Humāyūn joined his wife at Sabzawār but again parted from her, she travelling by the route of Tabas,[2] while the ex-king retraced his steps to Mashad. The governor and citizens of the town displayed profuse hospitality once more to their guest. Humāyūn had reached Mashad on the 30th *Ramzān* 951 A.H. (December 15, 1544 A.D.).[2] His journey had been so rapidly completed that he had not given sufficient time to the Persian auxilliary troops to gather together and so Humāyūn had to stay for a full week at Mashad and he utilized his ample leisure in meeting the learned of Mashad and also of other towns in the neighourhood, *e.g.*, Shaikh Abul Qāsim Jurjānī, Maulānā Ilyās of Ardibīl, Maulānā Jamshīd, the enigmatist, and Mullā Ḥairatī of Kāshān and in holding Sufistic or philosophical, scientific, or literary discourses. Once Ḥairatī brought to Humāyūn the following quatrain:

گه دل از عشق بتان گه جگرم میسوزد
عشق هر لحظه بداغ دگرم میسوزد
همچو پروانه بشمعی سروکارست مرا
که اگر پیش روم بال و پرم میسوزد

Tr. At times my heart and at others my liver is consumed from love of the beloved,
Love makes new scars every moment,
Like a moth my only concern is with a candle;
For if I approach it, my wings are burnt away.

Humāyūn made a slight alteration in the last hemistich and then it read:

میروم پیش اگر بال و پرم میسوزد

Tr. I go forward even if my wings are then burnt away.

[1] *M.J.N.* says, that the main object of Humāyūn's visit was the shrine of Shaikh Safīuddīn.

[2] *M.J.N.* has mixed up the chronology of Humāyūn's visits to the different towns. *Badāūnī* gives an anecdote when a Persian rebuked Humāyūn for introducing *zamīn-bōs*, then a novel form of salutatiōn, see p. 446.

The amendment emphasises the purport of the poet, *viz.*, knowingly we go to the candle and in doing so we cut away all escape from it.[1]

From Mashad the ex-king seems to have gone to Jām again, for on the tomb of the Shaikh is an inscription by him which may be reproduced here:

O thou whose mercy accepts the apology of all,
The mind of every one is exposed to Thy Majesty.
The threshold of Thy gate is the *qiblāh* of all people.
Thy bounty with a glance supports every one.

And beneath it is inscribed:

سرگشته وادی بی سر انجام محمد همایون ۱۴ شوال سنه ۹۵۱

Tr. A wandarer in the desert of destitution, Muḥammad Humāyūn, 14th *Shawwāl*, 951 (December 29, 1544).[2]

From Jām he went to Tabas and there joined his wife and then, rapidly travelling together, reached Sīstān. The Persian army had already collected and was found to be in full number under the lead of the infant-prince Mirzā Murād[3] and his guardian, Budāgh Khān Qāchār.[4]

We should conclude the chapter with a few general observations:

(1) Humāyūn had gone to Persia more with a view to passing on to Irāq and Arabia than with any definite hopes of getting military aid from the Shāh, and it may be said that, after his repeated failures in Sind and latterly in Qandahār, he had given up all hopes of a turn in his fortune. In fact, the generous aid rendered by Shāh Tahmāsp was unprecedented in character, and if a search be made for another such example, it will be found again in the same of family, *viz.*, in Shāh Isma'īl's unsuccessful efforts to re-instal Bābur on the throne

[1] Sufistically it would mean that we all should turn to God, شمع although in doing so we burn all our yearnings for the material.

[2] Bairam Khān had another inscription. The author of *M.R.* states to have seen both of them in the year 1020 A.H. (1611-12 A.D.). Sykes also quotes Humāyūn's inscription in his *History of Persia, Vol. II*, p. 165.

[3] *R.T.* calls him شیرخوارہ and *Farishta* طفل گہوارہ

[4] *A.N., M.R., B.B.T.H.B., R.A.T.* mention the names of some of the officers. According to the last the Persian army, after the capture of Qandahār, was to proceed to Ghaznī and Kābul.

of Samarqand in 1511-12 A.D. Abul Faẓl and other Indian writers[1] have tried to belittle the Shāh's magnanimity by pointing out that it was repaid several times over by Humāyūn when he made a present of his precious stones including the diamond obtained after the battle of Pānipat and of the precious pearls. These writers forget the sanguinary nature of the ex-king's host. The Shāh could be cruel if he chose and could easily have deprived his guest and his Mughal followers of all their possessions, and contemporary history could have found nothing reprehensible, or at least unusual, in such an action of the Shāh.

(2) It is asserted by some of the Persian writers[2] that Tahmāsp had agreed to render military aid on three conditions—(1) on Humāyūn's becoming a Shia, (2) on his agreeing to spread Shiasm in India, and (3) on his promising to return Qandahār to the Shāh. We have seen above that Humāyūn had actually put on the Shia *tāj* and had shown his deep reverence for the Imāms. He had had, in his illustrious father Bābur, a Muslim of a very liberal type and, in his mother and wife, two ladies of Shia persuasion. That on such a person bigotry would sit very lightly, can hardly surprise us. It is his breadth of views that had attached Bairam Khān to him and had prompted the latter to refuse the generous offer of honour and rank from the Shāh and had led him to choose the life of an exile from his native land once again.[3]

Again, if we carefully analyse Humāyūn and his father's character, we shall see that both of them were deeply pious, but at the same time highly liberal also. For example, Humāyūn always loved to move among the learned and the religious. When he journeyed through Persia, he sought to visit the holy places like Mashad, Jām, Bistām, Ardibīl and Tabrīz, and took pleasure in visiting the shrines of the tombs of the Shia saints. A modern mind may scoff at the Sunnī Humayun's veneration for the Shia saints ; but if one were to remember the depth of his despair caused by the ingratitude of his brothers, his general nobility of soul which refused to retaliate or do any harm to them under any circumstances, his pious nature, and the deep affection shown by his Shia wife and servant, one would probably

[1] The authors of *M.J.N.*, *M.R.*, *M.A.*
[2] *Farishta* (N. K. Press), p. 237; *Badāūnī* (B.I.S.), p. 545.
[3] See *M.R.*, pp. 494-95.

absolve him of any hypocritical motives in his visits to the Shia shrines.

In a discussion of the subject of his acceptance of Shiism, we may be allowed to suppose that Humāyūn had neither any hatred for the sect nor did he show any special preference to it as against Sunnīsm. If he put on the Shia *tāj* and professed Shiism to the Shāh's Qāzī-i-Jahān, it was under compulsion. He was not so convinced of any defects in Shiism as to die a martyr for the cause of Sunnism. Since he was in a Shia land and had been pressed to declare himself a Shia by the men in power, he agreed to do so. The declaration did not cause any wrench to his heart. Without abandoning his Sunnīsm, he thought he could show his regard for Shiism.[1]

With regard to the expectation that he would encourage conversion into Shiism later on in India, the opportunity never actually arrived. He died too soon after the occupation of Delhi. During his last Indian campaign that led to the reconquest of the Punjāb and the Delhi and Agra districts, he had given every prominence to his Shia nobleman, Bairam Khān. He had called him

فرزند سعادت مند - یار وفادار - برادر نیکو سیر . همدم غمگسار

the fortunate son, faithful friend, brother of good disposition and dear companion, made him Khān-Khānān and tutor-guardian, اتالیق, of his son Akbar, and also conferred on him the second title of Khān-i-Bābā, Lord-father. At the same time he had maintained a balance between him and the other Persians on one side and the Sunnī nobles like Tardī Bēg and Shāh Abul Maalī on the other. Between Bairam Khān, the guardian, and Ḥamīda Bānū, the mother, it was to be expected that Akbar would grow up more a Shia than a Sunnī Muslim.

The cession of Qandahār was the third condition accepted by the Mughal chief. It must be confessed that he never fulfilled the condition, and on one excuse or another kept its fulfilment in abeyance during the remainder of his life. It speaks well of the Shāh's forbearance that he bore with this non-compliance for the next twelve years or so and never did any harm to his erstwhile guest.

[1] Of course, Kāmrān always twitted him for his Shia professions.

(3) The services of Bairam Khān and Ḥamīda Bānū [1] in securing Shāh Tahmāsp's goodwill cannot be over-estimated. Without their company neither would the splendid hospitality of the Īrānians have been forthcoming nor could the disciplined Qizlbash army have been secured. Bairam Khān guided his chief through the Shia land and Ḥamīda Bānū's influence with Sultān Khānam,[2] the Shāh's sister, was of paramount value in turning over a crisis during a discussion whether Humāyūn's cause should be supported or not.[3] Those others who among the Īrānians upheld Humāyūn were Qāzi-i-Jahān Kazvīnī, the king's Dīwān [4] and Ḥakīm Nūruddīn Muḥammad Taiyib, the Shāh's confidant.

(4) It is to the credit of Shāh Tahmāsp that neither does he mention his magnanimity in his own memoirs [5] nor do the contemporary Persian historians.[6] Not only did he keep his word by sending the full number of soldiers but also ensured unity of Mughal command by placing the Persian army under his infant son, Murād Mirzā.[7] This prince died within a few months of his arrival at Qandahār, probably due to the hardships of the camp life but the Shāh made no grievance of his son's death.

(5) The general results of Humāyūn's sojourn in Īrān and his contact with the Īrānīs have been of a far-reaching character:—

(*a*) It re-cemented the cordial relations of the two peoples—the Indian and the Īrānian—that had commenced from Bābur's time or even earlier.

(*b*) It allowed the Īrānian language and culture to permeate more and more deeply into the Mughal court and the Indian society. Turkī, the mother-tongue of the early Mughal kings, receded more and more into the background. If to-day the language of Īrān

[1] According to *N.M.*, as a reward for her company in exile, Humāyūn had given her the title of Chūlī Bēgam.

[2] She was commonly called Sultānam.

[3] Several writers have mentioned that but for Sultān khānam's influence, Bahrām Mirzā would have wreaked vengeance on the Mughal guest by turning the Shāh against him. For Bahrām Mirzā's prejudices against Humāyūn, see *Farishta* (N. K. Press), p. 236; *Badāūnī*, p. 444. *Kh.T.*, *T.Kh.T.*, *T.S.A.*, *S.S.*

[4] *Farishta* calls him Nāẓir of the Dīwānī, *i.e.*, Superintendent of the Finance department, *Kh.T.* and *T.S.A.* Vazir, *M.A.* وکیل مطلق العنان, of the Shah. *Tazkira-i-Tahmāsp* (*B.I.S*), p. 3, Vazir and Sāhib-i-diwān.

[5] Entitled *Tazkira-i-Tahmāsp*. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has published a printed edition of the work.

[6] Except the author of *R.A.T.*

[7] See *R.T.* and *Farishta*.

occupies a significant place amongst the classical languages of India, it may partly be ascribed to its continued usage for the last four or five centuries.

(*c*) The Īrānians were encouraged to immigrate in large numbers into India and they furnished soldiers like the Shia Bairam Khān and the Sunnī Shāh Abul Maalī, a historian like Khwāndamīr, and writers like Shaikh Zainuddin Khāfī and Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī. Most of these Persians were Shias.

The following abbreviations have been used in this paper :

Abbreviation used		*for*
1.	M.R.	Māṣir-i-Raḥīmī
2.	G.H,N.	Gulbadan Bēgam's Humāūn-nāma
3.	A.N.	Akbar-nāma
4.	T.A.	Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī
5.	T.Kh.T.	Tarīkh-ī-Khāndān-Tīmūria
6.	Jauhar	Jauhar's Tazkirat-ul-wāqiāt
7.	Blochmann	Blochmann's translation of Āīn-i-Akbarī
8.	Farishta	Tarikh-i-Farishta
9.	R.T.	Rauzat-ut-Ṭāhirīn
10.	Badāūnī	Badāūnī's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarīkh
11.	N.M.	Nafais-ul-Maāṣir
12.	R.A.T.	Ḥasan Rūmlū's Aḥsan-ut-Tawarīkh
13.	B.B.T.H.B.	Bayazīd Biāt's Tarīkh-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh
14.	T.S.A.	Tarīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afāghina
15.	M.A.	Mirāt-ī-'Ālam
16.	Beveridge	Beveridge's translation of Akbar-nāma
17.	B.M. Catalogue	British Museum Catalogue
18.	Kh.T.	Khulāsat-ut-Tawarīkh
19.	M.T.	Muntakhab-ut-Tawarīkh
20.	B.L.H.P.	Browne's Literary History of Persia
21.	M.J.N.	Mirāt-i-Jahān-nama
22.	S.S.	Ṣubh-i-Ṣādiq

THE THEORY OF PERCEPTION AS PROPOUNDED BY PRABHĀCANDRA

SITANSUSEKHAR BAGCHI, M.A., B.L.

PERCEPTION according to Prabhācandra is the clear apprehension of objects. So all other kinds of knowledge which lack clearness fall outside the range of perceptual knowledge. Clearness in apprehension is a felt fact and neither stands in need nor is possible of a definition. It is an ultimate characteristic of a class of cognition, which is styled perceptual knowledge and is not found in indirect knowledge, such as inference. It cannot be regarded as the characteristic of the object, as in that case all objects would have this character, which is not the fact. Nor will it be a fair question why this character should belong to a particular species of knowledge and not be a universal trait in all cases of knowledge. Because such questions are futile and can be pressed against the ultimate constitution of all things. The ultimate nature of things, objective or subjective, must be accepted as final on the evidence of uncontradicted experience. An explanation is offered by the Jainas in terms of their metaphysical theory. The metaphysical postulate of all knowledge is the expulsion or subsidence of obstructive Karmic matter in the soul, which envelops the light of the soul and prevents it from operating upon objects.[1]

Only when the obstructive Karmic matter is expelled or made to subside, knowledge takes place. The resultant lucidity or otherwise in knowledge can thus be explained in conformity with this theory as due to the quality or quantity or both of this universal condition of knowledge, which admits of varying degrees of completeness. Therefore clear apprehension is the true nature of perception. Prajñākaragupta, a Buddhist philosopher of 940 A.D., has propounded a curious theory of perception. He maintains that the abrupt knowledge of fire on the accidental perception of smoke, the knowledge that all objects are momentary and the knowledge of universal concomitance such as where there is smoke there is fire, come under the category of perceptual knowledge, no matter whether there is

[1] *Vide Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*, pp. 57-58; *Syādvādratnākara*, I. 314.

clear apprehension or not. But this view is absolutely untenable because in that case even inference will be included under perception if distinctness and clearness be not accepted as the criterion of perceptual knowledge. If this criterion is rejected, there will be left to us no standard by which we can distinguish inference and the like from perception and the consequence will be that all knowledge, irrespective of their source and character, will be labelled as perception—an absurdity which does not require confutation. To drive home the absurdity it may be asked regarding the knowledge of fire on the abrupt perception of smoke, which is contended to be perceptual in character, what is its content?[2]

Is it the universal of fire or a particular individual? If it is the universal (*sāmānya*) that is cognised, then it is not a case of perception, for according to your view a universal is never an object of perception. If you (the Buddhist) accept this, your position that perception gives the knowledge of particular objects (*viśeṣa*) and inference gives the knowledge of the class-character or the universal will fall to the ground. Moreover perception according to Dharmakīrtti consists in the apprehension of an object in its own specific character (*svalakṣaṇa*) having nothing in common with other objects similar or dissimilar and is thus completely free from association with names and verbal expressions, which presuppose and is made possible by relational thought. The object of perception is the reality which is immediately revealed to the mind and not such other ideas as generality (*sāmānya*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*kriyā*), substratum (*dravya*), or name (*nāman*), which are not a part of the presented sense-data but are supplied by the understanding (*vikalpa*).[3] Thus if generality (*sāmanya*) becomes the object of perception, then perception will cease to be the infallible source of knowledge of reality, which according to the Buddhist is always a particular and the universal or other categories of understanding have nothing to do with the objective real. So the knowledge of fire under dispute will not be perceptual if it is supposed to cognise the universal. If on the other hand the knowledge in question is supposed to cognise the fire in its specific character, then there will be no room for doubt about its specific character, as to the kind of fuel from which it is produced as

[2] *Vide* PKM, pp. 57-58.
[3] *Vide* PKM, pp. 57-58.

fire produced from dry leaves has a different individuality from that produced from hay. This individuality is cognised only in direct perceptual knowledge. When one infers fire, the knowledge is of a general nature and as such the possibility of a doubt about the individual character of the fire inferred is not excluded. No such doubt arises from an object that is perceived close at hand. Nobody entertains doubts about the specific character of the fire which he is perceiving near at hand. If still there be a doubt, then no other variety of knowledge whether arising from verbal testimony or from inference will be free from it. And it is fallacious to assert that there is no doubt in the knowledge arising from verbal testimony and inference. Therefore what you (Buddhist) have mentioned as the case of perception is nothing but inference arising from the apprehension of the probans.[4]

[4] *Vide* PKM, pp. 57-58.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CENTRAL BANKING AND THEIR LESSONS FOR INDIA

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I

THE past few years have witnessed a striking growth of central banking. As many as 14 new central banks have been created in countries which had none before [1]; and there is hardly any civilised country to-day which is not equipped with a central bank. Brazil, Venezuela and the Irish Free State are the notable exceptions but even in the case of all these three countries, the establishment of new central banks is under consideration. In the first two countries draft bills have already been presented to the legislatures[2] while in the case of the third, the recent Banking Commission has recommended the conversion of the existing Currency Commission into a full-fledged central bank.[3] A careful examination of the statutes of these newly created central banks is particularly revealing. Most remarkable departures are found to have been made from the orthodox prescriptions drawn up in the case of the pre-war or early post-war central banks. This is true not only of the new central banking legislation but also of the amendments made in recent years to the statutes of a number of old established central banks.

The practices of present day central banking and the scope of the functions assumed by it under the present legislation in many instances hardly fit in with the classical position as understood in the pre-war or even in the early post-war period. Not only the practice but the theory of central banking appears to be drifting away from its old moorings. The last great depression had left its impress on the

[1] Money and Banking (League of Nations), 1937-38, Vol. I, p. 79. The more important of these are the Central Bank of Bolivia (1929), the Central Bank of the Turkish Republic (1931), the Bank of Mexico (1932), the Reserve Bank of New Zealand (1934), the Central Bank of Salvador (1934), the Bank of Canada (1935), the Reserve Bank of India (1935), the Central Bank of the Argentine Republic (1935) and the Bank of the Republic of Paraguay (1936). See De Kock, *Central Banking*.

[2] Money and Banking (League of Nations), 1937-38, Vol. II, pp. 39, 210.

[3] Report of the Irish Banking Commission, 1938.

structure of central banking and the developments no doubt are partly its outcome but it would be misleading to suggest that they are wholly the product of an emergency situation.[1] Some of the most important trends had already been observed in the post-war years: they were merely accentuated in the years after the depression. The new legislation therefore reflects currents of ideas which have steadily grown stronger. In many respects it has been the result of experience gathered by central bankers over a series of years. Changes have been rapidly taking place in the economic organisation—in the methods of financing domestic and foreign business. Possibly to keep themselves abreast of the times and to equip themselves properly for their task, the central banks are passing through this new phase of evolution.[2]

The record of central banking legislation in the post-depression period has been so strikingly significant that it is well worth while to recall a few of its high lights. The object of this paper is to stress some of the most remarkable trends in recent central banking legislation and to examine in the light of these developments the extent to which the Reserve Bank of India should amend its own law and practice.

II

One of the most striking trends in recent central banking legislation is the reduction of the legal cover ratio with a view to introducing greater elasticity in the employment of primary reserves. In the years immediately after the last Great War, the reserve ratio fetish had been greatly extended and during the decade 1922-32 there was a general tendency not only to raise the legal reserve requirements of central banks to 40% or even more but also to include sight liabilities in the calculation.[3] Large gold reserves, however, were found to be useless in emergencies because the greater part of the reserves were unavailable and for all practical purposes immobilised. It was the excess reserves which strengthened the position of the central banks but these excess reserves, as Keynes put it, were "uncomfortably small."[4] The entire amount of gold held as a statutory reserve was thus

1 Sixth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1935-36), p. 56.
2 Ninth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1938-39), p. 119.
3 Report of the Gold Delegation Committee (League of Nations), p. 52.
4 J. M. Keynes, Treatise on Money, Vol. II.

a dead asset and in the picturesque language of a recent writer might vanish into thin air or lie at the bottom of the sea without any serious consequences provided no one knew.[1] The truth is that the more strictly and conservatively the gold reserves of a central bank are sought to be regulated by law, the weaker it becomes and the more helplessly exposed to disastrous disturbances from every wind that blows.

Opinion had been rapidly gaining ground in the early years of the Depression that the statutory reserves should be substantially reduced, if gold were to be used with full efficiency under a reformed international gold standard. It was frankly recognised that a lowering of the percentage from 40% to 33% or even below it would release a great deal of gold for active employment, enlarging the operative reserves of that amount. "The whole system of defined ratios," observed the Gold Delegation Committee, "has proved itself in the light of the special circumstances of post-war years to be too rigid and inadaptable;.....we are of the opinion that it would be advantageous to reduce the reserves from their present levels."[2] The Minority Group of the Gold Delegation went further and suggested that the legal regulation of percentage reserves should be abolished.[3]

Then came the Monetary and Economic Conference of London in 1933. The unanimous recommendation of the Conference was that in order to improve the working of a future gold standard, greater elasticity should be imparted to the legal cover provisions of central banks by reducing the percentage gold cover to a minimum ratio of not more than 25%.[4] The idea was not to permit the building up of a larger superstructure of notes and credits but to strengthen the position of central banks by increasing their free reserves. This recommendation gave concrete expression to a principle which had been gaining ground even before the Conference met. Experience had shown that even the country which possessed the largest stocks of gold, the United States, had twice found that the legal provisions were too inelastic in a period of sudden movements.

The statutes of a number of central banks had already been amended so as to make provision for a lower legal ratio. In August, 1932, the Austrian National Bank had reduced its minimum legal ratio from

1 A. D. Gayer, Monetary Policy and Economic Stabilisation, pp. 84-85.
2 Report of the Gold Delegation Committee (League of Nations).
3 Minority Report of the Gold Delegation Committee.
4 Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements, 1936.

24% to 20%. In Poland the minimum legal ratio against notes and other sight liabilities which had been 40% of gold and foreign exchange had been reduced under the new provisions of February, 1933, to 30% of gold alone against notes and other liabilities in excess of 100 million zloty.[1] Since 1933 the tendency for central banks to adopt a lower legal ratio is unmistakable. Not only have the statutes of several old established central banks been amended to provide for a reduced ratio but the newer central banks have increasingly adopted it at the outset. Under the Law of February, 1934, the National Bank of Czecho-slovakia adopted a 25% gold cover against sight liabilities in place of a 30% cover in gold and foreign exchange which existed in 1930 and which would have risen on the basis of the old graduated scale to 35% in 1935.[2] When the Bank of Canada was established by Act of Parliament in 1934, a minimum statutory reserve ratio of only 25% was adopted. By a decree of January 15, 1935, the reserve requirements of the National Bank of Jugoslavia which stood at 25% gold and 35% gold and foreign exchange were reduced to 20% and 25% respectively.[3] As a result of the amendment of the statutes of the Bank of Danzig on 1st May, 1935, the legal minimum of gold and foreign exchange to be held against notes and other dues and liabilities was reduced from 40% to 30%. According to the decree of 13th January, 1936, the legal minimum cover in the case of the National Bank of Bulgaria was changed from 33⅓% to 25%.[4] Under the original statutes of the Latvian Bank (Art. 13) the Bank was obliged to secure by gold or stable and sure foreign currencies at least 50% of the note circulation, if the total circulation did not exceed 100 million lats.[5] In May, 1936, the minimum cover was reduced to 30%.[6] In terms of the provisions of the Act of July 12th, 1907 (Art. 7, paras. 1-3) the National Bank in Copenhagen was required to keep a metallic reserve equal to 50% of the nominal value of the notes in circulation. This reserve might consist of domestic legal tender gold coins, foreign gold coins and gold bullion.[7] Under Sec. 10 of the New National Bank of Denmark Act,

1 Third Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1932-33), p. 10.
2 Money and Banking (League of Nations) (1937-38), Vol. I, p. 89.
3 Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1936, p. 542.
4 Sixth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1935-36), p. 10.
5 Legislation on Gold (League of Nations), 1930, Table III, pp. 18, 94.
6 Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1936, pp. 544-45. Also Seventh Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1936-37).
7 Legislation on Gold (League of Nations), 1930, p. 70.

it was laid down that the gold fund should cover 25% of the total active note circulation.[1] According to the Hungarian Monetary Legislation of 1924, the minimum cover of the National Bank was to rise to 28% in 1934. But such an increase was then considered to be untimely and it was decided to continue the older ratio for a further period of 4 years. When a reform of the central bank was effected by the Law of July 14, 1938, the minimum gold and foreign reserve was fixed at 25% of notes and other demand liabilities (excepting those to the Government).[2] It may be interesting to note in this connection that the legal reserve requirements of the Reichsbank of Germany and of the Bank of Italy were suspended in September, 1932 and in July, 1935, respectively.[3]

In view of this pronounced trend towards a lowering of the reserve ratio, should not the Reserve Bank of India carefully consider a reduction of its minimum gold cover ? Sec. 33 (2) of the Reserve Bank Act of 1934 provides that no less than two-fifths of the total assets of the Issue Department should consist of gold coin, gold bullion or sterling securities, the amount of gold coin and bullion being not less than Rs. 40 crores in value. *

The assets of the Issue Department have been divided into two classes—' A ' consisting of gold coin and bullion and sterling securities and ' B ' consisting of rupee coin, Government of India rupee securities and bills of exchange and other commercial paper. This gives us a ratio of A to liabilities amounting to 40%. Some element of flexibility has been sought to be imparted to the statutory reserve ratio by including sterling securities but there is the minimum gold provision ; and the ratio of 40% may reasonably be considered to be unduly high in these days. A lowering of the ratio would not only give greater elasticity to the reserve but would also help to counteract, if necessary, a deflationary tendency. The importance of this aspect of the question has been clearly revealed in recent years. When the Reserve Bank's attempt to maintain the sagging rupee-sterling ratio led to a depletion of the sterling reserves, its deflationary effect could

1 The National Bank of Denmark Act—Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1936, p. 538.
2 Money and Banking, 1938-39 (League of Nations), Vol. II, Commercial and Central Banks, p. 102.
3 Money and Banking, 1937-38 (League of Nations), Vol. I, p. 89.

be offset to a considerable extent by reducing the ratio of 'A' to liabilities. It was allowed to fall to a figure which was still nearly 10% above the legal minimum.[1] This afforded some scope for avoiding contraction and even for expansion of note issue. But that scope may be considered to be much too limited for initiating an expansionist policy. In any scheme for the economic recovery of our country, the first step to be taken must be the provision of cheap and abundant bank credit. This cannot possibly be achieved in a system where the central bank is constantly hampered by an anxiety to maintain larger prescribed reserves. If the legal reserve ratio were lowered from 40% to 25 or 30%, the scope for expansion would be considerably widened. It is interesting to note in this connection that the recent Australian Monetary and Banking Commission recommended the abandonment of the percentage method altogether in favour of a system of maximum note issue irrespective of gold reserves.[2]

It may be pointed out in this connection that a revaluation of the gold stocks of the Indian Reserve Bank may also afford a wide scope for expansion. An examination of recent central banking legislation discloses that greater elasticity in the employment of the primary reserves has been sought to be imparted not only through a reduction of the legal cover ratio but also through a revaluation of the existing gold holdings. The United States was the first country to revalue the central gold holdings in January, 1934. The American precedent has been steadily followed by an ever-increasing number of countries. The National Bank of Austria followed immediately. The National Bank of Belgium revalued its gold reserves in the next year. When the gold *bloc* ceased to exist in 1936, Italy, Switzerland and France decided to revalue. The gold and foreign exchange holdings of the National Bank of Hungary were revalued by an amendment of its statutes in 1938. In the same year legislation was introduced in Finland with a view to revaluing the gold holdings of the Bank of Finland. The Eesti Bank revalued in March, 1939.[3] In the face of this remarkable trend towards revaluation of

1 B. N. Ganguly, Whither Rupee ?, p. 30.
2 See Copeland's Article in the *Economic Journal*, December, 1937.
3 Ninth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements (1938-39), pp. 69-70.

gold holdings by central banks throughout the world, the Bank of England which had continued to value its gold reserves at the old statutary price of 85*s*. per ounce reconsidered her position in 1939.

The Currency and Bank Notes Amendment Act of 1939 which came into effect on February 28, 1939, provided for a revaluation of the assets of the Issue Department. According to Sec. 2 (1) of the Act, " the assets held in the Issue Department shall be valued on the day on which the Act comes into operation and thereafter once in each week." [1] The Bank's return for March 1, 1939, revealed the incorporation of the provisions of the Act. The gold reserves which stood at £126·4 millions on 22nd February, 1939, at the old price were written up to nearly £221 millions on the basis of 148*s*. 5*d*., per fine ounce. Not only a large number of countries other than those mentioned above have revalued their gold holdings in recent years, such as the Argentine, Japan, Latvia, Rumania and Netherlands (March 1, 1940), but some of those cited above have revalued for the third or even the fourth time (*e.g.*, France).

The legislation relating to revaluation of gold reserves has, as Mr. Robertson has pointed out, increased to an important extent the wide powers of manoeuvre already possessed by the monetary authorities.[2] It is high time that the Reserve Bank of India should proceed to revalue her gold stocks after the manner of her *confrères* in other countries. The Reserve Bank has often been accused of being a party to deflationary tactics. Since the war there has no doubt been an increase in the issue of currency notes but the expansion has been much less than required. In many quarters there is an insistent demand for a mild measure of inflation from the revaluation of gold.[3]

III. State & the C.B.

Perhaps the most revolutionary feature of central banking legislation is the altered relationship between the State and the central bank. This tendency stands in marked contrast with that of the pre-war period and early post-war years, when a great deal of emphasis was

1 Federal Reserve Bulletin, April, 1939, p. 271.
2 D. H Robertson's Article in the Lloyds Bank Monthly Review, May, 1939—"British Monetary Policy."
3 See Manu Subedar's Article " Financial Injustice to India " in the " Indian Finance " February 24, 1940, p. 425.

placed upon the desirability of maintaining and strengthening the independence of the central banks from the State. There was hardly any other principle of central banking which was so much stressed as this independence of central banks from State ownership and State control.

It was clearly expressed in the resolutions adopted at the Brussels Conference of 1920 and the Genoa Conference of 1922. It was embodied in the statutes of most of the central banks established or reorganised during the post-war reconstruction period. It was restated even as late as in the London Conference of 1933. Recent developments in central banking, contrary to all the established traditions, indicate a movement towards a closer State control and greater State participation. Not only old established central banks functioning as independent institutions for centuries are being converted into State banks but newly created private shareholders' banks are being transformed into State banks within a few years of their inception. The trends are significant and unmistakable.

The National Bank in Copenhagen originally founded as a State bank in 1813 was changed into a private shareholders' bank in 1818 and functioned in this form independently of the State for more than 100 years.[1] By the Law of 7th April, 1936, it was nationalised and transformed into Denmark's National Bank. The shareholders received as compensation 54 million kronor (which was equivalent to twice the nominal value of the shares) in 4% bonds issued by the new Bank for this purpose and guaranteed by the State. The Government provided a general capital fund of 50 million kronor in the form of a certificate. By degrees as funds out of the annual profits are allocated to the guarantee fund, corresponding amounts are to be written off the general capital fund certificate.[2]

The Reserve Bank of New Zealand is an outstanding example of a nationalized central bank, if not because of its subservience to the Government, at least because of the unequivocal way in which this has been laid down in the constitution.[3] When the Reserve Bank Bill was introduced for the first time in 1932, the proposed Bank was

[1] De Kock, *Central Banking*.
[2] The National Bank of Denmark Act No. 116, April 7, 1930—Federal Reserve Bulletin, pp. 537-40 (July, 1936).
[3] *The Banker's Magazine*, April, 1939, "The Reserve Bank of New Zealand"—Article H. R. Randerson, p. 580.

conceived on orthodox lines and in accordance with Sir Otto Niemeyer's recommendations was to be controlled by a Board "entirely free from the actual fact and fear of political interference."

The Bank was established on August, 1, 1934, as a private shareholders' bank by the Law of November 27, 1933. But important departures were made from Sir Otto's scheme for the Act made provisions for a substantial measure of political control. The Board of Directors came to be composed not only of four shareholders' 'directors' but also of the Secretary to the Treasury and 3 State directors and the Governor and the Deputy Governor, all of whom were to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council. Although the Bank was established with wide Government powers over it, yet the monetary reformers were not satisfied. The Labour Government, by passing an amending Act on April 8, 1936, placed the Bank virtually in the position of a Government department. The shares were cancelled and the holders were given in exchange Government stock or cash computed on the market valuation of the shares. Every vestige of private control was completely removed; the Secretary of the Treasury who did not previously possess a vote was given one; the Board of Directors were to serve at the pleasure of the Government. All previous restrictions on the power of the Bank to buy and sell long-term Government securities were removed; and the Bank was authorised to underwrite any New Zealand Government loan, to advance the full amount of the Treasury's estimated revenue and discount Government bills.

The Bank of Canada was established in 1935 as an entirely private shareholders' bank. Under the Law of 23rd June, 1936, the State assumed partial ownership of the Bank by increasing its capital by issuing 102,000 shares of Class B at the par value of $50 each to the Minister of Finance.[1] By the Bank of Canada Amendment Act of June 1, 1938, which came into force on August 5, 1938, the Bank was nationalised. Sec 17 (1) of the Act provided that the capital of $5 million should be issued to the Minister to be held by him on behalf of the Dominion of Canada. Under Sec. 17A, the Minister was to

[1] Federal Reserve Bulletin, October, 1936, pp. 789-92. Sec. 17 (1) The Bank of Canada Amendment Act, 23rd June, 1936, "The capital of the Bank shall be ten million one hundred thousand dollars consisting of one hundred thousand shares (Class A) issued to the public and one hundred and two thousand shares to be issued to the Minister at par (Class B) to be held by him on behalf of the Dominion of Canada and to be paid for out of the consolidated revenue funds."

exchange 100,000 Class B shares out of 102,000 held by him for 100 shares of the capital of the Bank which it has been authorised to issue. The Bank was to pay to each holder of Class 'A' shares of the Bank of the sum of 59 dollars and 20 cents for each Class 'A' share. The Minister would re-imburse the Bank the amount by which payments made by the Bank to holders of Class 'A' shares exceed the par value of such shares and such re-imbursement should be effected by surrendering to the Bank for cancellation 2,000 of the Class 'B' shares held by the Minister having the aggregate par value of one hundred thousand dollars and by paying to the Bank out of any unappropriated moneys in the consolidated revenue fund the sum of eight hundred and twenty thousand dollars.[1]

When a new central bank was formed in Paraguay by a decree of 23rd February, 1936, out of the existing Bank of the Republic of Paraguay, a privately owned commercial bank, it was State-owned.[2] By the Law of 12th March, 1936, the Bank of Italy was transformed into a "public law" institution and the private shareholders were repaid the old capital.

Although the old Reichsbank was privately owned, it was operated and controlled by the Government. This long association of Government control was broken by the Law of 1924. The new Bank was created as a privately owned joint-stock company to be controlled by its own Board of Directors and the charter stressed its independence of State control.[3] But when the statutes of the Bank were amended by the Law of 10th February, 1937, the provisions regarding its independence were eliminated and its Directorium was placed directly under the Führer and Chancellor.[4] New law seeking to bring the transformation of the Reichsbank, which had begun with the Law of 10th February, 1937, to a conclusion in conformity with the National Socialist principles was promulgated on 15th June, 1939. Sec. 1 (1) has definitely laid down that the German Reichsbank shall be responsible to the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich.[5]

1 The Bank of Canada Amendment Act of 1st July, 1938—Federal Reserve Bulletin, August, 1938, pp. 652-54.
2 De Kock, *Central Banking*.
3 M. E. Northrop, *Central Policies of the Reichsbank*, p. 29.
4 Sixth Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements, p. 95.
5 Federal Reserve Bulletin, September, 1939, pp. 737-42.

The trend towards State control of central banks is reflected not only in the ownership of their capital but also in the increased participation in their administration. In several instances where no alterations were made in the ownership of the capital, a substantial measure of direct and indirect State participation in the appointments of Governors and Directors of central banks is to be observed in the recent amendments to the statutes. In the Bank of Greece, the Cabinet of Ministers has been appointing the Governor, the Deputy Governor and the Sub-Governor since 1932, all of whom were previously elected by the General Meeting of shareholders. The composition of the council in the case of the Bank of France was radically changed by the Law of 24th July, 1936. A General Council was substituted for the old Regency Council and the State was empowered to make a number of appointments.[1] One of the three members of the Board of Governors of the newly transformed State Bank of Denmark is to be nominated by the King. He shall also be the chairman of the Board.[2] In the U.S.A. all the members of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve system are being appointed to-day by the President; and the appointments of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Federal Reserve Banks themselves are also subject to the approval of the Board.[3]

This trend towards increased State control and participation is manifested in a different manner in the growing interference by the State in the policy of the central banks and in the pressure exerted on them for financial accommodation. A most interesting feature of this development has been that this intervention has not been resented by the central bankers as an infringement of their freedom and independence. On the contrary, they have frankly expressed their willingness to mould their policy in accordance with the wishes of their Governments. There is hardly any central banking institution to-day which is legally more independent of Government control than the Bank of England but we find its Governor assuring the Ministers in the course of a statement made in 1936 that the Bank was always willing to do loyally and with goodwill what they would direct as if it was under legal compulsion.[4]

[1] De Kock, *Central Banking*, pp. 323-24.

[2] Sec. 6, The National Bank of Denmark Act, 7th April, 1936—Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1936, p. 537.

[3] Article in the Journal of Political Economy, December, 1935, by H. H. Preston—"The Banking Act of 1935."

[4] See *The Economist*, 10th October, 1936.

This assurance was re-affirmed by the Governor a year later in the following words, "We must look largely to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and we assure him that in all matters his requests govern the conduct of our affairs."[1]

Apart from the domination of the Treasury in matters relating to monetary and banking policy, the central banks have been increasingly subjected to the constant pressure for extension of financial facilities to the State. The great depression and the subsequent abandonment of the gold standard over almost the entire world brought about a chaos in Government finances and the central banks had to meet the increased demands for accommodation. On 14th April, 1938, a convention was entered into between the French Minister of Finance and the Governor of the Bank of France which increased by 10 billion francs the amount of advances that might be granted by the Bank to the French Treasury.[2] When the statutes of the Bank of Poland were amended on 13th February, 1939, advances to the State were raised from 100 million zl. to 150 million zl.[3] An examination of the recent balance-sheets of many central banks in this connection is particularly revealing. Large holdings of Government securities and Treasury bills as well as direct State debts will at once leap up to the eye.

This trend towards State ownership and State control as reflected in current central banking legislation should be carefully noted in our country. There has been a wide-spread demand for State Banks in India for a long time and it will be recalled that the first Reserve Bank Bill foundered on the rock of the question of independence of political control. At that time State banking institutions in the world were very few in number and this was one of the strongest points in favour of the shareholders' type of central banks. But circumstances have entirely changed since those days. The number of State banks has been steadily on the increase and during the last few years the trend towards State control and ownership as shown above has been unmistakable. At present there are at least 12 central banks whose capital is fully owned by the State besides a large number where it is partially owned. They are the Reichsbank of Sweden, Bank of Finland, National Bank of Denmark, National

1 Money and Banking (League of Nations), 1937-38, Vol. I.
2 Federal Reserve Bulletin, August 1938, pp. 650-51.
3 Money and Banking (League of Nations), Vol. II, p. 144.

Bank of Bulgaria, Bank of Latvia, Commonwealth Bank of Australia, Reserve Bank of New Zealand, Bank of Canada, Central Bank of China, Bank of the Republic of Paraguay, Bank of the Republic of Uruguay and the National Bank of Costa Rica.[1]

The old and rusty weapons from the armoury of the State bankers need not be brought out again to support the case for a State-owned central bank in India. Recent developments in foreign central banking should help to revise our notions in regard to the constitution of central banks. Even if they failed to afford any lesson to the protagonists of the shareholders' type of banks, developments nearer at home, within our own country, cannot certainly be ignored. When the Reserve Bank of India was inaugurated, the Government intended to make it a truly representative shareholders' bank by keeping the electorate as wide as possible. Accordingly when the Reserve Bank issued its capital, it accepted only applications for between 5 and 50 shares. The limitation to 50 shares of the maximum voting power of an individual has the same thing as its objective.

During the five years between the inauguration of the Reserve Bank and to-day, the total number of shareholders declined from 92,047 to 57,192. During the last year alone there was a drop of 2,585. The average number of shares held by each shareholder has consequently increased from 8·4% to 8·7%. The total number of shareholders has declined by nearly 38% since the establishment of the Bank.[2] Not only the total number of shareholders but the distribution of the shares among the different provinces has undergone significant changes. There has been an increasing drift of shares to Bombay. Her original holdings amounted to 140,000 shares; they have now increased to 205,500 shares, mainly at the expense of Calcutta and Delhi. The holdings of Calcutta have declined from 145,000 to 122,800 and those of Delhi from 115,000 to 90,000.[3]

From the figures given above, one fact of startling importance at once leaps up to the eye. The Reserve Bank is well on the way to lose its status of a public institution. The concentration of the shares in the hands of a small number of individuals of a particular province

[1] Prior to 1935 the Bank of the Argentine was State-owned but the capital is now owned equally by the State and Commercial banks. De Kock, *Central Banking*, Ch. XV.

[2] Annual Report of the Central Board of Directors, Reserve Bank of India, for the year ended 31st December, 1939.

[3] *The Commerce*, 20th January, 1940, p. 73.

will strike at the root of the intentions of the Government to maintain the electorate as wide as possible. In the recent annual report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank a pointed reference was made to this tendency for the Bank shares to be concentrated in the hands of fewer people and the possibility of domination of the Central Bank from a particular centre. The Bank reported the position to the Government of India and as a result of its recommendation that the number of shares held by an individual should be limited to a maximum of 200 and that no transfer should be registered in the name of any individual in excess of that amount, the Reserve Bank of India Act has just been amended. It is difficult to see how this tendency can be checked by legislation. The Amending Act would hardly enable Government to attain the desired objective. Several members of one family may buy up to the legal maximum and control of the complete block of several hundred shares may remain in the hands of an individual. Hence the entire purpose of the Act may be defeated. One solution—and we believe it to be the real solution—at once suggests itself. The Central Government should buy out the shareholders altogether and own the Reserve Bank itself as has been done in the case of several countries in recent years.

[*To be continued.*]

NAZĪRĪ OF NISHĀPŪR

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NAẒĪRĪ'S LIFE

Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn, poetically named Naẓīrī, was a native of Nishāpūr.[1]

The date of his birth is not recorded by biographers. They are silent about his ancestors and the details of his early life are not available either. But he was undoubtedly one of the gifted poets.

From his very boyhood he cultivated the art of poetry, as the following couplet shows:—

بشعر و شاهدم از کودکی نظر بازیست
که عشق خیزد از آب و هوای کشور ما [2]

'From (very) boyhood, I am inclined towards poetry and love-matter;
As love is inherent in the (very) nature of our clime.'

It appears that he led a family life. The elegy on the death of his son, Nūr-ud-Dīn-Muḥammad, in which he laments the death of his daughter also, with the feelings of a true man, goes to show that he had at least two children. He also makes a mention of his twins (son and daughter) in the couplet noted below:—

باین قصیدهٔ برجسته شد تدارک غیبم
که دختر و پسرم توامان بیدگر آمد

'In this extempore Qaṣīda it was arranged invisibly that I should have twins—a son and a daughter one after another.'

[1] Some are of opinion that he originally belonged to Juwayn (جوین), *vide* Atashkada, p. 194.
[2] Dīwān (Nawal Kishore ed.), p. 15.
[3] Dīwān, p. 314.
[4] The elegy is thus set forth.
این ترکیب مرثیه ایست که در فوت ولد دلبندم نور الدین محمد که دوازده روز در فضای دنیا بود گفته شد
Dīwān-i-Nazīrī, R. A. S. B. MS. No. 706.

There is another elegy on the death of his brother, wherein he says:—

غربت و بیماری و مردن نصیب کس مباد
داد از مرگ برادر آه از حرمان من

'Let none fall ill and die in a strange land!
The death of my brother, alas, a disappointment for me!'

The title of this poem in the R. A. S. B. MS. No. 706 contains the word حبیبه (daughter) and برادر (brother), while there is no mention of the former in the title of the same in the Nawal Kishore edition. But the couplet noted below, has a clear reference to his son, whose death he mourns with that of his brother.

بود دودی اندهِ خیل و خدم آتشم
داغ فرزند و برادر سوخت مغز جان من

'The smoke of the sorrow of horseman and attendants rose from my fire,
The scar of the death of son and brother consumed the kernel of my heart.'

This shows that he had a brother whom he loved very much and he feels his separation keenly.

He remembers him thus:—

از عزیزی اشرف الاخوانش خواندم بنام
باشرف چون نام من بودند از و اخوان من

'Out of love I called him by name the most honoured of brothers.
And my brothers were, like my name, in honour (sharaf) through him.'

This brother, Mawlānā Sharaf,[1] a skilful musician, was also in the service of the Khān Khānān. He died in a strange land, which added to the misery of the poet. The son whose death he mourns also in this elegy, may be different from one mentioned previously.

[1] Dīwān, p. 375.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 372.
There is a pun on the word 'sharaf,' which was the name of Nazīrī's brother and which also means honour.
[3] Blochmann, p. 613. Note 3.

Āẓīmā,[1] a poet of no ordinary rank, is mentioned as the son of Mulla Qayḍī, who is mentioned as the son of Naẓīrī by Āzād on the authority of the Mirāt-us ṣafa. He is said to have been to India with his father and having returned to Nishāpūr to have came back over then again.

While still in Khurāsān, he won a name for himself in poetry. As his fame spread, he marched to Kāshān where he entered into poetic contests with poets like Ḥaṭim, Fahmī, Maqṣūd-i-khurda, Shujā', Ridāī, who had distinguished themselves in this sphere.

It was here that he composed and recited, to the admiration of all, the well-known ghazal beginning with

فلک مزدور ایمای تو باشد * نوازد هر کرا رای تو باشد

' The sphere is at your beck and call ;
It nourishes whomsoever you like.'

It appears Naẓīrī spent some time in this way in Kāshān.

'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān was well-known for his lavish rewards to poets and scholars. His court attracted all such men of letters from home and abroad.

The reign of Akbar the Great was a glorious one, which witnessed the advent of many poets from Persia, *e.g.*, Sanā'ī of Mashhad, Urfī of Shirāz, Khwājāh Ḥusayn of Meru, Anīsī Shāmlū, Qudsī of Karbala, etc., whose merit was handsomely rewarded.

Naẓīrī, like others, also came to India to try his luck. He was first introduced to the Khān Khāna at Agra. He refers to this incident in the Qaṣīda having this name :—

این قصیده در مدح صاحبم ابو الفتح بهادر عبد الرحیم خانخانان بن بیرمخان هنگامیکه با یلغار از گجرات به دار السلطنت آگره آمده بودند و اول مداحی و ملازمت کرده بود گفته شد [2]

' The qaṣida was composed in honour of Lord Abu'l Fatḥ Bahādur Khān Khān b. Bairam Khān, on his return to the capital at Agra, after having (successfully) led the expedition against Gujrat, and it was here that for the first time he (Naẓīrī) waited upon him.'

[1] 'Azīmā is one of the distinguished poets. He had a dīwān entitled Fawz-i-'Azīmā. He died in 1121 (1709).. The ode beginning with the following couplet is amongst his fine productions and runs thus :—

قاصد آمد گفتمش آن ماه سیمین بر چه گفت
گفت با هجرم بساز و گفتمش دیگر چه گفت

[2] Dīwān, p. 350.

The Qaṣīda runs thus:—

بعمر مژده که عیش ابد نثار آمد * شگفته روی جاوید را مدار آمد [1]

'Joyful tidings are for life that eternal is availabe,
And smiling face has become the pivot for eternity.'

This event took place in 992 (1584).

Naẓīrī thus found a real patron in the Khān Khānān, who introduced him to the court of Emperor Akbar.

It was at this time that they celebrated the birth of prince Khusraw, the son of Jahāngir. It was a golden opportunity for the poet to compose a qaṣīda suited to the occasion, which he readily did It begins

زمانه را پی تزئین سور شاه امسال
بهار پیش ز نوروز کرد استقبال
کشید ماه جلالي بطالع فیروز
فراز چتر سپهري سراوقات جلال [2]

'To beautify the royal feast this Year, spring has dawned before (the advent of) Nawrūz (New Year's day). The month of jalalī raised gorgeous pavilions over the canopy of the sphere, at an auspicious moment. He composed qaṣīdas in honour of Emperor Akbar which will be discussed in their proper place.

Although our poet composed laudable qaṣīdas in honour of Emperor Akbar, it seems he could not enjoy a position at the royal court, befitting his rank. Like many other poets of eminence, he too fell a victim to opposition. He refers to this point in the following lines:—

جماعتي ز سفیهان تیره طبع دني
مدام در پیش افتاده اند همچو وبال
ز بی تمیزي این ناقدان کم مایه
گهر بقدر خذف گشته، زر برخ سفال [3]

'A body of fools, who are dark and mean-minded,
Like a calamity are constantly after me.

[1] *Ibid*, p. 350.
[2] Dīwān, p. 317.
[3] Dīwān, p. 320.

Through the discourteous behaviour of these mean critics,
Pearls have turned into pebbles, gold into earthernware.

He was content, therefore, to remain attached, more or less, to the khān khānān and seltled at Aḥmadābad. He is the first Persian poet to sing songs in praise of this chief. To this a reference is made by some critics:—

ز ریزه چینی خوانت نظیری شاعر
رسیده است بجائی که شاعران دگر
کنند بر مدیحش قصیده‌ها انشا
که خونِ رشک چکد از دلِ سخن پرور
ز نوک خامهٔ او مضطرب دل جیحون
ز رشک نامهٔ او تشنه لب لبِ کوثر
لباس لفظ شود تنگ در برِ معنی
گهی که بکرِ معانیش بفگند چادر[1]

A few years later he intended to make ḥajj, which he performed in 1002 (1593).[2]

Before starting on his journey to the Holy Land he composed the following qaṣīda in honour of the khān khānān, beginning with

ز هنر بخود نگنجم چو بخم می مغانی
بدرد لباس بر تن چو بجوشدم معانی[3]

'My skill controls me not like wine in the jar of a tavern-keeper;
When my hearl is full of meaning, it tears my clothes on my body.,

and in the couplets noted below, he prayed for passage money:—

همه عیش این جهانی بعنایت تو دیدم
چه عجب اگر بیابم ز تو زاد آنجهانی

[1] Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī, Vol. III, p. 116.
[2] Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī gives 1012 A.H. as the date of the poet's pilgrimage, which is obviously an error.
[3] Dīwān, p. 328.

تو اگر دهي و گر نه غم و خوشدلي ندارم
که نظر بدوست دارم نه بگنج شائگانی
چو رسد بجر شبنم ز فنا چه بیم دارد
که بقا بدوست یابد چو شود ز خویش فاني [1]

'Through your grace, I enjoyed all the pleasures of this world!
What wonder! if I get from you provision for the next world!
Whether you grant this or not, I have neither joy nor sorrow,
As I have an eye upon the friend, not upon the large treasure.
When dew-drops mingle with ocean, it fears not annihilation,
As it enjoys abiding in the friend, after annihilation.'

The khān khānān granted his request. Naẓirī left for Mecca from Surat. He was waylaid in his journey, which he described at length in the qaṣīda having this descriptive title:—

این قصیده در راه مکه مکرمه بعد از غارت سارقان و حرامیان منزیل بمدح نواب محمد عزیز اعظم خان منظوم شد -

This qaṣīda was composed in the Holy Land of Mecca after the poet was waylaid by robbers together with the praise of Nawwāb Md. 'Azam Khān.

He was in trouble. So he approached the Nawwāb to help him on his return journey. He refers to this point in these lines:—

بگوشهٔ نظر التفات محتاجم
بزاري که توان کشتنم به نیم نگاه
ز بی بضاعتي خود چنان هراسانم
که بر توشهٔ ره باز گردم از درگاه
بسیل مرحمت از خاک ذلتم بردار
که همچو غلبهٔ عطشان فتاده‌ام بر راه [2]

'I require the corner of the eye of your attention.
I am in trouble such that a wink of your eyes is sure to kill me.

[1] *Ibid*, p. 325.
[2] Dīwān, p. 327.

(*i.e.*, slightest attention on your part will enable me to accomplish my object.)

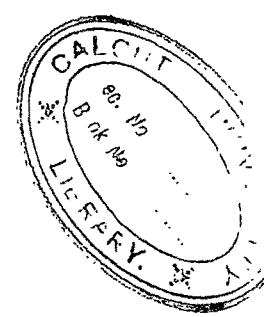
I am so much frightened on account of my poverty
that I may return from your court (disappointed) in getting provision for the journey.
With the torrent of mercy, raise me from the dust of disgrace,
as I have fallen on the road, like a thirsty person.'

He somehow managed to perform the hajj. Amīn Rāzī says that while he was engaged in composing the Haft Iqlim, Naẓīrī contemplated a pilgrimage to the Holy Land which he performed in 1002 (1593).

On his return from hajj, it appears, Naẓirī found access to the court of Prince Murād.

A guide led him to the court ; there was festivity on the occasion of Nawrūz (New Year's day) and the poet graced the ceremony by composing a poem in honour of the prince. The poem begins thus :—

پس از ادای نماز و حج و رسوم عباد
بسیر عرصهٔ گجرات اتفاق افتـــاد
قبول جذبهٔ آن آب و خاکم از کشتي
چو دست قابله از مهد بر کنار نهاد
چنان بشوق خرامان شدم دران کشور
که سوی حجلهٔ زیبا عروس نو داماد [1]



' After performing the ḥajj and the pilgrim's practices,
I chanced to visit Gujrat.
The attraction for land and water drew me to the bank from the boat;
Like a capable hand, (drawing one) from cradle.
I eagerly walked into that clime,
Like a bride moving towards her chamber.'

It appears that he was very much attached to the prince. The Tarkib-band ,[2] which he wrote on his death and which is regarded as a fine specimen of his poetry, bears eloquent testimony to this fact.[3]

[1] Dīwān, p. 332.
[2] Tarkīb-Band, a form of strophe poem.
[3] The poem begins :—
لب خوش نگشهٔ خنده ره چنگ میزند در بزم مرگ ' خنده بر آهنگ میزند

The fame of Naẓīrī reached the ears of Jahāngīr, who summoned him to his court in the fifth year of his reign in 1019 (1610). Naẓīrī presented himself with a replica to the well-known qaṣīda af Anwarī which runs thus:—

باز این چه جوانی ز جمالست جهان را [1]

'What youth and grace appertain to this world!'

The poet's qaṣīda begins as follows:—

ترکیب کهن تازه شد آئین زمان را * نو داد لنسق شاهِ جهانگیر جهان را

'The old order changeth giving place to new.'

Emperor Jahāngīr is running the world's administration anew.'

Jahāngīr was very much pleased with this and he rewarded the poet with one thousand rupees, a house and a robe of honour.

Jahāngīr once desired Naẓīrī to write an inscription for his building. He presented a qaṣīda to the Emperor, describing the beauties of the edifice therein. The poem begins:—

ای خاک درت صندلِ سرگشته سران را

بادا مژه جاروب رهت تاجوران را

'O thou! the dust of your door is 'sandal' for diseased heads,
May the eye-lids of rulers sweep the dust of your path.'

Jahāngīr appreciated this very much and bestowed upon him,[2] as a reward, three thousand bighas of land.

Naẓīrī wrote panegyrics in honour of Emperor Akbar and Jahāngīr, Prince Mūrad, the Khān khānān and 'Azīz khān kawka. These poems will be fully discussed in the proper place.

Naẓīrī was a panegyrist, and as such he was a success. As hinted above, he was very much attached to the Khān khānān. Once he submitted to this chief, 'I have not seen a lakh of rupees in a mass. How does it look?' The Khān khānān ordered the sum to be piled up. 'Thank God!' exclaimed Naẓīrī, 'Through your grace, I have now seen a lakh.' The chief made a gift of the sum in his favour. Naẓīrī was a skilful goldsmith.[4] He carried on trade also. Thus he lived in a princely

1 Tuzuk edited by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, 1280 (1863), p. 91.
2 Khizāna-i-Amira p. 437.
3 *Ibid*,
4 Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī, Vol. III, p. 118.

style. He was very generous and lavishly gave away to the poor.[1] He was addicted to tobacco. He has a poem[2] in its praise, although its use was forbidden by Emperor Jahāngīr and Shāh 'Abbās, both in India and Irān.

There was a poet of the name of Naẓīr in those days. As the two names differed by the letter yā (ی) and the word Naẓīrī is derived from the original word 'Naẓīr,' poet Naẓīrī gave his namesake ten thousand rupees to change his name, so that there might possibly be no dispute about the authorship of his poems.[3]

Once the Khān khānān wrote a letter to Anīsī, on the margin of which he remembered Naẓīrī. He took it to heart and referred to it in a poem addressed to his master:—

مدّی درسه مخصوص دل ما نخشید ی
مخدوم چنین یاد نمودست خدم را
ما نام خود از حاشیه ششتیم گزین بیش
مهمان طفیلی نتوان بود قلم را[4]

'What note in the margin was not to my desire,
Did a master ever thus remember his servants?
We washed over name from the margin,
One cannot be guest (parasite) of the pen.
There was a certain dignity of it in Nāẓīrī.'

He says:—

من گوهر هرم' فلک نشامرا چه جرم
من اختسرم' زمانه ندداند' مرا چه عار

'I am a pearl! let not firmament know me!
I am ator, let not time recognise me, what shame!'

Though a panegyrist, he was not mercenary as Zahīr of Faryāb, or Anwarī of Khāwarān, nor like 'Urfī was he so much self-conceited. He has made references to these poets, *viz.*, Farrukhī,

[1] Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā, MS. No. 92, f. 314, Buhar Library:—
ابواب فیض بر روی مودم کشودہ
[2] Diwān, p. 275.
[3] Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī, Vol. III, p. 118.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 128.

'Unṣurī and Anīsī [1] Khāqānī and Magir [2] and Abul 'Alī Beg. [3] He mentions Hafiẓ [4] as his guide whom he imitates in his odes. He also mentions Sa'dī, [5] Khwāja Ḥusayn Sanāī.[6]

He reverently makes a mention of Attar [7] also. Though living in India and improving his fortunes here, he never forgets his native land, and looks upon it with wistful eyes, as he says:—

دل تشنه ست کان نشاپور میروم تا آب و رنگ رفته بمعدن درآورم
گیرم سرای مادر و قبر پدر مقام آرام شان بمسکن و مدفن درآورم

'My heart is thirsty: I am going to the mine of Nishāpūr so that I may restore lustre upon it

I may take my abode in the grave of my parents, I may bring peace to thier lasting dwelling place and like poet Ḥazīn shows contempt for the land of his adoption.' [8]

Towards the latter part of his life, he showed a remarkable tendency for the acquisition of religious enlightement When he accompanied the Khān khānān to the Deccan, he met Shaykh Ghawthī, the author of the Gulzār-i-Abrār, at Mandu: and he set about learning Arabic under him and then acquired the science of the commentary of the Qurān [9] :—

Dīwānī, p. 402 :—
از نظم او که شهرهٔ محمود داده است * گم گشته نام فرخی و ذکر منصری
پرسی اگر بحشر چه آرم ندار شد * شعر انیسی آور و وحی پیمبری

2 *Ibid*, p. 376 :—
چندی بهم نبرد ی خاقانی و مجیر * غوغا بشیروان و بارمن در آورم

3 *Ibid*, p. 66 :—
رشک ملک شیروان امروز شادروان اوست * کو به از خاقان' نظیری به ز خاقانی نشت

4 *Ibid*, p. 400.

5 *Ibid*, p. 19 :—
تا اقتدا به حافظ شیراز کرده ایم * گرویده مقتدای دو عالم کلام ما

6 *Ibid*, p. 404.

7 *Ibid*, p. 353 :—
خدیو نظم سنائی که در مبادی فکر * بلند گشت ازو پایهٔ ثنا کردن

8 *Ibid*, p. 144 :—
ای صبا از گل عطار نشانے بمن آر * وز گلستان نشاپور خزانی بمن آر

9 *Ibid*, p 322 :—
شرم نظیری کجاست خاک برین همتت * سخرهٔ هند آمدن ملک عجم داشتن

10 *Ibid*, p. 376 :—
گجرات را بعزم خراسان کنم وداع * بت چیرگان هند بهرمن در آورم
سوی عراق و فارس ز آثار طبع خویش * خلدی ز نظم و نثر مزین در آورم

11 *Ibid*, p. 327 :—
دلم زهند و سمرقند بکر گداخته شد * در آرزوی نشاپورم و شمال هراة

and tradition from Mawlānā Ḥusayn Jawharī.

According to this learned scholar, Naẓīrī set his face against the world some twelve years before his death and lived a secluded life. He speaks of Naẓīrī thus:—

''مولانا نظیری نیشاپوری حاجي الحرمین درویش طبیعت صوفی سیرت - مهذب الاخلاق بود - در آخر روزگار زندگانی عنان نظم تراشی بصوب طرز گفتار صوفیان وحدت گذار منعطف ساخته - نخست سواد عربی از مصاحبت نگارندهٔ گلزار ابرار روشن ساخت سپس درازده سال که تتمهٔ عمر او بود در احمد آباد اقامت گزیده علوم دینی تحصیل کرد و تصحیح تفسیر و حدیث از خدمت مولانا حسین جوهری وارد نمود - در سنه هزار بست و سه بعالم قدس خرامید''[1]

But even in this state he did not cease composing laudatory poems.

The following qaṣīda was composed during this period :—

چندی بغلط بتکده کردیم حرم را وقت است که از کعبه بر آریم صنم را

'Wrongly for a long time, I turned the sanctuary of the Ka'ba into a temple.

It is high time that I should take out idols from the Ka'ba.

He died in Aḥmadābād and lies buried in the mosque built by himself which is situated in Tājpūra.[2] There is a dome over his tomb. Taqī Auhadī, the author of the well-known work Urafāt, who came to Aḥmadābād in 1016 (1607), says that he frequently visited Naẓīrī. He gives مرکز دائرهٔ بزم کجاست as the chronogram of the poet's death in 1021 (1612).

Another chronogram از دنیا رفت حسان العجم giving the same year as its numerical value, is mentioned in the Makhzan-ul-Gharāib and is said to have been composed by Mīr Fāi'ḍ, the son-in-law of Naẓīrī.[3] The author of the Gulzār-i-Abrār places his death in 1023 (1614).

[1] Sark Azād (Ḥyderābād Ed.), pp. 21-26.

[2] Name of the locality, where the mosque built by Nazīrī stands.—Shir-ul-Ayau, Vol. III, p. 141.

[3] Catologue of Persian MSS., O P. Library, Bankipore, Part III, p. 18.

Naẓīrī as a Poet

Every poet has some special features. Ūrfī is known for ' falsafa ' (introducing philosophical ideas), Sāi'b for ' mithālia ' (using proverbs and maxims and drawing lessons therefrom) and so is Naẓīrī known as ' taghazzul ' (delineation of human passions).

A careful study of the history of the development of ghazals will reveal that, though long in vogue, it received perfection at the hands of Kamāl-ud-Dīn Ismāi'l, called Khallāq-ul-ma'ānī (' creator of ideas ') ; Sā'di improved upon it and Ḥāfīẓ raised it to a still higher level and made it a miracle.

During the 16th century of the Christian era, when poetry was influenced by the progressive ideas, many new ideas and ideals were introduced.

Naẓīrī is one of those favoured sons of Nature who were endowed with a genius characteristic of its own. His ghazals or love-poems possess high imagination, sweet cadences, grace and elegance, delightful and novel presentation of love-matter, fascinating turns of expressions, quick use of common idioms and phrases, and, above all, personification, which makes his poetry what it is.

It is these which have singled him out among his compatriots.

Sāi'b speaks of Naẓīrī :—

صائب چه خیال است شوی همچو نظیری
عرفی بـه نظیری نه رسانید سخن را

' Sāi'b, do you think, you can equal Naẓīrī ?
Ūrfī could not rival Naẓīrī in poetry.'

Wālih Dāghistānī observes :—

مولنا نظیری نیشاپوری ... خاقان اقلیم سخنوری ... پایهٔ سخن را بجای رسانیده کـه شهباز خیال را با هزار پر و بال در آن عرصه مجال پرواز نیست [1]

' Mawlānā Naẓīrī of Nishāpūr, the Khāqān of the clime of poetry, raised it to such a height that the falcon of imagination, with a thousand feathers, could not soar in the region.'

[1] Riyāz-ush-Shua'rā. MS. No. 92, f. 314b, Buhar Library,

Jalāl-i-Athīr says of Naẓīrī:—

همچشمی نظیری حدِ بشر نباشد

'Equality with Naẓīrī is not within the reach of man.'

Ghālib also observes:—

جوابِ خواجه نظیری نوشته ام غالب

خطا نموده ام و چشمِ آفرین دارم

'I have written a reply to Khwājāh Naẓīrī, O Ghālib,
I have made a mistake, yet I hope to be praised.'

Shiblī Nūmānī's work, Shirul-'Ajam, Part III (pp. 145-64), contains a brief but fine criticism on the poetry of Naẓīrī. It is simply out of question to add to it any new material. The poems of Nazīrī as found in the Dīwān (Nawal Kishore ed.) fall into the following classes.: (A) Ghazals or Love-poetry, (B) Qaṣīdas or laudatory poems, (C) Tarkīb-band, (a form of strophe poems), (D) Tarjī'band (a form of strophe poems) and (E) Qiṭāt or fragments.

A. Ghazals or Love-poetry

The number of ghazals in the Dīwān (Nawal Kishore ed.) is 551. These are detailed below, according to *radif* (ردیف *i.e.*, last word repeated at each *line* of a poem):—

Radīf	No. of odes.	Radīf	No. of odes.
ا (alif)	59	ض (ḍād)	5
ب (bā)	8	ط (ṭā)	6
ت (tā)	73	ظ (zā)	2
ث (thā)	2	ع (ain)	5
ج (jīm)	1	غ (ghain)	5
چ (chā)	1	ف (fā)	5
ح (hā)	3	ق (qāf)	3
خ (khā)	2	ک (kāf)	4
د (dāl)	110	گ (gāf)	1
ذ (dhāl)	1	ل (lām)	10
ر (rā)	19	م (mīm)	53
ز (zā)	19	ن (nūn)	23
س (sīn)	18	و (wāw)	10
ش (shīn)	32	ہ (hā)	28
ص (ṣād)	5	ی (yā)	38
		Total	551

The chief features of his ghazals are as follows:—

(1) *Novelty of Ideas.*

An idea may be expressed in a simple way; but it becomes extremely fine if the language used to convey the same is novel. In this respect our poet tops the list. His mode of expression is charming and graceful. It, therefore, presents to the mind's eye a world of beautiful imagery.

The following quotations, which speak for themselves, will bear out this point:

(*i*) ز عاشق میشود معشوق را نام و نشـــان پیدا
ثمر نیکـو نیاید تا نگـــردد باغبان پیدا
تمنایش چو گردد گردِ خاطر، مضطرب گردم
چو محتاجي، که گردد، در سرایش مهمان پیدا

'A beloved is made known through her lover;
Good fruits are not made available but by a gardener.
I become restless, when overcome by passion for him,
Like a needy person in whose house a guest may happen to come.'

(*ii*) دریغا در چنین فصلي حریفم یار بایستي
میان بلبلانم جای در گلـزار بایستي

'Alas! in such season my companion should have been my friend,
Amidst the nightingale my place should have been in the garden.'

(*iii*) چه خوشست از دو یکدل سر حرف باز کردن
سخن گذشتـــه گفتـــن، گلهٔ دراز کردن
اثر عتاب بردن، ز دل هم اندک اندک
به بدیه آفریدن، به بهانه ساز کردن
تو به خویشتن چه کردی، که بما کني نظیری
بخدا که لازم آمد ز تو احتراز کردن

'How happy it is for the two hearts in union to start a discourse together,

To talk about past incidents, to enter into long complaints!
To wipe off the effects of anger from each other's heart,
With prompt excuses seeking for re-union,
What hast thou done for thyself, O Naẓīrī, that thou wouldst do to us,
By God! it has become necessary to avoid thee.'

(*iv*) حور و جنت جلوه بر زاهد دهد در راه دوست
اندک اندک عشق در کار آورد بیگانه را
عشق کامل نیست تا در بند مال و مسکنی
آنزمان آتش علم گردد که سوزد خانه را

'Houries and paradise draw ascetics towards the path of the Friend,
Love, little by little, makes strangers active (familiar).
Love is not perfect, so long thou art after wealth and abode,
When fire consumes house, it turns wild.'

The idea of the attainment of perfection is nicely depicted by means of similitude. Naẓīrī is remarkable in this respect and is rightly called Qāānī of India.

(2) *Personification.*

This element is very strong in Naẓīrī's poetry. He depicts abstract ideas and visualises them before his mind's eyes, making them come out in flesh and blood. This point is fully illustrated by the following extracts:—

(*i*) ز پای تا بسرش هر کجا که مي نگرم
کرشمه دامن دل مي کشد که جا اینجاست
بغیر دل همه نقش و نگار بیمعني است
همي ورق که سیه گشت مدعا اینجاست

'I look at him from top to bottom.
Coy glance draws the skirt of heart (painting). This is a fit place for making love.
Without the heart all pictures are meaningless!
The page which is splattered with ink contains relevant extracts.'

(*ii*) رسوا شدم وگرنه صد بار در دلم
رفتي و آمدي که کسی را خبر نشد

'I am ashamed, for you went into my heart a thousand times
and came out of it,
And none was aware of it.'

(3) *Charm.*

Naẓīrī' poetry scontains a picture of true feeling and emotions, which produce a thrilling sensation on the minds of readers and hearers alike, transporting them into a region of bliss and joy. The fine extracts given below are instances in point:—

(*i*) ما بیدِ بوستانیم ما را ثمر نباشد
مردود دوستانیم از ما بتر نباشد
قاصد که میفرستي رطل گرانش دردہ
کز ما خبر نباشد تا بی خبر نباشد

'We are garden willows; we are fruitless!
We are friend-discarded; none are worse than we!
Give full measure of wine to the messenger you like to send to us,
Unless he is dead drunk, he won't meet us.'

(*ii*) هر کس شهید آن مژهای دراز نیست
درشرع بر جنازهٔ آنکس نماز نیست
عاشق وفا نماید و معشوق سر کشی
حسن از حجاب خالی وعشق از نیاز نیست

'Every one who did not suffer martyrdom by his long eye-lashes,
Is not entitled, according to the law of Islam, to funeral prayers.
A lover shows constancy, a beloved obstinacy,
Beauty requires a veil, love requires supplication.'

(*iii*) از کف نمي دهد دل آسان ربوده را
دیدیم زور بازوی تا آزموده را

'He does not let go from his hand the easily captivated heart,
We realise in full the strength of that inexperinced arm.'

(iv) از گلستان گل بیازار آمده
عید مرغانِ گرفتار آمده

'The rose has come to the market from the garden,
The 'Id of the birds in cage has come.'

(v) سوالی کن ز من امروز تا غوغا به شهر افتد
که اعجاز فلاني کرد گویا بی زباني را

'Ask me something to-day that the city be agog,
That the miracle of so and so, made the dumb eloquent.'

(4) *Philosophical Ideas.*

Naẓīrī's poetry contains philosophical but simple ideas. The extracts noted below will illustrate this point. :—

(i) نی عدم بود و نی وجود اینجا * صورت وهم بود اینجا
عکس شخصی فتاد در مسکن * نیک جستم کس نبود اینجا
عشق ما کرده جلوهٔ بر ما * عشق ما دل ربود اینجا

'There was neither non-existence nor existence here!
There was only a phantasm here!
The reflection of a being fell upon our abode,
Much as we sought, we found none there.
Our beauty displayed itself upon us,
Our Love stole away (our) heart from us here.'

The poet refers in the above extract to the Sūfī doctrine, which regards the being of a lover as reflection of True Beloved, *i.e.*, there being only one and one real existence, all other existences being its reflection.

(ii) گه تجلي مانعست و گاه هجران حائلست
حیرت اندر حیرت و مشکل اندر مشکل است
از نم فیض که با این مشتِ خاک امیختند
حاملان عرش را بارِ امانت در گل است

'At times Illumination is obstruction, at times seperation is an obstacle (to the enjoyment of Beloved's sight),
This leads to bewilderment after bewilderment, difficulty after difficulty.

With the moisture of Grace bestowed upon the handful of dust (*i.e.*, Adam),
The throne-bearers (*i.e.*, angels) carry the load of trust (*i.e.*, through clay).'

In the above extract the poet hints at the doctrines of Illumination and Concealment, and also to the theory of 'man' being the vicegerent of God.

(*iii*) گر عکس روی خویش در آئینه دیدهٔ
توحید شیخ و شرک برهمن بجا شناس

'If you have beheld the reflection of your face in the mirror,
Regard the monism of Shaykh and heathenism of Brahmin to be true,
i.e., There is splendour of the Divine Being [1] everywhere.'

(*iv*) نظر گردد حجاب آنجا که من دیدار می بینم
نهان از چشم ظاهر بین تماشای دگر دارم

'Eyes become obstacle where I enjoy vision,
Hidden from external eyes, I enjoy another spectacle.'

(5) *Continuity of Thought.*

In an ode distichs are generally independent of one another. But there are some odes of Nazīrī which are continuous. This beautifies the sense and adds lustre to thought.

The following couplets will serve as an instance in point:—

چشمی براه میرود مژگان نمناکش نگر
در سینه دارد آتشی پیراهن چاکش نگر
دامی که زلف انداخته درگردن سیمینش بین
خونی که مژگان ریخته بر دامن پاکش نگر
شرم از میان برخاسته، مهر از دهان، برداشته
گفتار بی ترسش بین، رفتار بباکش نگر

Cf. Hāfiz. :—

همه جا خانهٔ عشق است چه مسجد چه کنشت

'Love abides everywhere, in the mosque or the temple.'

از کوی معشوق آمده ' شوریدگان ' در حلقه‌اش
از صید آهو ' می رسد شیران بفتراکش نگر
دل برده در دل باختن ' معشوق عاشق پیشه بین
بگرفته در انداختن بازوی چالاکش نگر
وحشی غزالی کز صبا رم در بیابان میخورد
رام نظیری میشود درهوش و ادراکش نگر [2]

Translation fails to convey full import of the above passage. An attempt is, however, made at making the passage intelligible. This is the description of a beloved who is quite indifferent to his lover :—

' He is looking in this way, look at his wet eye-lashes,
His breast is full of fire, mark his torn garment !
Behold the net which his curly locks spread round his own silvery neck,
Behold the blood shed by his eye-lashes at his pure skirts.
He has no modesty at all, the seal is broken from his mouth (*i.e.*, he is now speaking).
Mark his talk to himself, behold his bold and fearless gait,
He has just returned from his sweet-heart's love, which admirers (as usual) form a ring round him.
He returns after hunting a deer, sees lions in his saddle strap,
He lost his own heart in captivating those of others, behold a beloved-lover.
He captivated a heart (*i.e.*, is a beloved) in giving away his own ; behold his skilful arms.
As for the wild deer which takes to its heels even at the sound of a gentle breeze,
Behold how it has become tame to Nazīrī in all sense and seriousness.'

(*ii*) رفتی ببزم غیر نکو نامی تو رفت
ناموس صد قبیله زیک خامی تو رفت
اکنون اگر فرشته نکو گویدت چه بود
در شهر صد حکایت بدنامی تو رفت

[1] Diwan.

هم صحبتِ رقیب شدی از غرورِ حسن
نامِ خوشِ تو در سرِ خود کامی تو رفت
یاران متفق همه انکار میکنند
هر جا حدیثِ نیکِ سرانجامی تو رفت
برداز رخ تو رنگ حیا بادهٔ هوس
شرمی که بود در همه جا خامی تو رفت
با کارکار غمزهٔ نظیری اثر نماند
فارغ نشین که خون دل آشامی تو رفت

'You attended the assembly of strangers ; you lost your good name (thereby),
One short coming of yours destroyed the honour of a hundred tribes ;
If an angel calls you virtuous now, it won't help you now,
A hundred tales of your bad names are (already) spread in the city.
You mixed with rivals through pride of beauty,
You lost your good name in self-conceit.
Wherever there is talk of your good name.
All friends do unanimously refute it,
Vain desire for wine turned your face pale,
Modesty which you show everywhere and which was your protection, is gone.
Naẓīrī, the diligence (*i.e.*, movements) of the eye-lashes (of the Beloved) has no effect ;
Be at rest, you will not have to drink heart's blood.
Such passages may be multiplied from his works.

(6) *Sūfistic Element.*

There is Ṣūfistic element in the poetry of Naẓīrī. As mentioned above, towards the end of his life, he retired into pious seclusion and gave himself up to religion. His poetry is replete with Sūfistic ideas. The following extracts may be cited as instances in point.

(i) آتشین گفتار خاکی پیکرم * قطعهٔ باغِ خلیلِ آذرم
در دم احیا عیسی معجزم * دردِ بیضای موسی دفترم
عالم معنی بنورم روشنست * در حقیقت آفتابِ دیگرم

از سخن هرکس هیولای نمود * من هیولای سخن را جوهرم

جوهرم جسمم نمیدانم چیم * هرچه هستم غرق مهر حیدرم

'I am fiery in speech, earthy in form;
I am a portion of the garden of Khalil-i-Adar;
I am a miracle-worker, Jesus-like, in recalling the dead to life;
I bear the authentic mark, Moses-like, in the whiteness of the hand;
With my light the world of sense is illumined,
In reality I am a sun by myself independent.
My speech is copied by everybody,
I am the substance which is the model copied by all.
I am subtance, I am body; I do not know what I am,
Whatever I am, I am drowned in the love of Haider (*i.e.*, Ḥaḍrat Alī).'

(*ii*) عشق تو قید علائق ز ره ما برداشت

هر که مجنون تو شد سلسله از پا برداشت

جنس ارزنده و ارباب بصارت مشتاق

نتوان دست ز بیعانهٔ سودا برداشت

'Thy love removed from our path the bond of attachment.
Whoever became thy majnūn, removed fetters from his feet (*i.e.*, lost attachment to all other things).
The commodity is worth having, and the worthy are eager (for it).
One cannot but advance earnest money.'

(*iii*) دل بقرب و بعد از مهجور نیست

از نظر دورست ' از دل دور نیست

گرچه زان نور است روشن دیدها

دیدها را طاقت آن نور نیست

'My heart is with him, whether he is near or far;
He is away from sight, but is not away from the heart;
Although the eyes can see with that light,
The eyes have no power to bear that light.

(*iv*) ترا بکعبه مرا کار با دل افتاد است

بکعبه بتکدهٔ من مقابل افتاد است

Your affair is with the Kāba, mine with my own heart,
The temple of my idol is just in front of the Kāba.'

(v) هیچ اکسیر به تاثیر محبت نرسد
کفر آوردم و در عشق تو ایمان کردم

'No elixir is so potent as the property of thy love;
I brought heresy and in thy love turned it into faith.
Naẓīrī confesses himself a follower of Ḥāfiẓ.'

(vi) تا اقتدا بحافظ شیراز کرده ایم
گردیده مقتدای دو عالم کلام ما

'By the time I have been a follower of Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz, our poetry has come to be respected in both the worlds.

The all pervading idea of Divine Essence, the mystery of life, the fickleness of fortunes, and, above all, the predominating influence of *Love divine*, the burden of Naẓīrī's song, form the subject-matter of his poetry.'

(vii) نظری کری عشق است این نه شاهد بازی و رندی
که گر یاری رود از دست کس یاری دگرگیرد

'He sings of love like Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz in the couplets which are regarded as fine specimens of his poetry.

This is the way of Love; not of whoremonger and profligacy, Naẓīrī,

that, if a friend deserts a friend, he should take to another.'

(viii) مئی منصور که در جوش ز خامیها بود
بعد دوری بقوام آمده در شیشهٔ ما

'The wine of manṣūr which was in ebullition through immaturity, was really poured into our glass, after a long time.'

(ix) بی عشق عقل را هنری در دماغ نیست
بد سوزد آن فتیله که از شعله داغ نیست

'Without Love, reason has no power with the mind,
The wick, which has no spot, burns dimly through flames.'

(x) عشق عصیانست اگر مستور نیست
کشتهٔ جرم زبان' مغفور نیست

'Love is a sin, if it remains not concealed ;
The one killed for blabbing it out, receives no salvation.'.

(xi) عشقست طلسمی که در و بام ندارد
آنکس که ازو یافت نشان نام ندارد

'Love is a talisman, knowing no door or balcony,
He who gets a clue to it, has no name.'

(xii) کفر و ایمان نبود شرط نظیری در عشق
بتو کافر بنمایم که ولایت دارد

'Faith and infidelity are no (necessary) conditions of Love, O Naẓīrī.
I may point out to you an infidel, who possesses saintliness.'

Ḥāfiẓ is the arch-master in ghazals and Naẓīrī is his follower. Ḥafiẓ was a Ṣūfī, so was Naẓīrī. Both retired from public life, one earlier, the other later. Naẓīrī followed in the wake of his master from the very beginning and imitated him in all points of poetic beauty-charm, sweetness and grace and has surpassed all his contemporaries in India and Irān.

'Love divine,' which is the burden of song with Ḥāfiẓ, finds a suitable place in Nazīrī. But in Nazīrī 'high thought' predominates.

In order to understand their similarity, we should compare them both by putting their parallel odes:—

Naẓīrī (نظیری) (1) Ḥāfiẓ (حافظ)

الا یا ایها الساقی ادر کاسا و ناولها — اذا ما شئت ان تحیی حیوة حلوة المحیا
که عشق آسان نبود اول ولی افتاد مشکلها — برسوای برآر سر' ز مستوری برون نه پا
ببوی نافهٔ مشکین کاخر صبا زان طره بکشاید — حدیث عشق و مشتاقی درون پرده پنهان بود
زتاب جعد مشکینش چه خون افتاد در دلها — برآمد شوق از خلوت نهاد این راز بر صحرا
همه کارم زخود کامی بسد نامی کشید آخر — اگر نالم ز حرمان' رخ مگردان حسبة لله
نهان کی ماند آن رازی کزو سازند محفلها — قیاس وصل و محرومی گلستانست و نا بینا
حضوری گر همی خواهی ازو غائب مشو حافظ — نظیری گر طمع داری که مقبول جهان باشی
متی ما تلق ان تهوی دع الدنیا و امهلها — فلا تحسد ولا تبخل ولا تحرص علی الدنیا

(2)

سبب مپرس که چرخ از چه سفله پرور شد — قبول بی هنران ز التفات معشوقشت
که کام بخشی او را بهانه بی سببیست — عنایت ازلی را بهانه بی سببی است
ازین چمن گل بیخار کس نچید آری — ز من مشاطهٔ بستان صداقت می طلبد
چراغ مصطفوی با شرار بولهبیست — هنوز دختر رز در سراچهٔ عنبی است
حسن ز بصره بلال از حبش صحیب از شام — خلاف رسم درین عهد خرق عادت دان
ز خاک مکه ابوجهل این چه بوالعجبیست — که کارهای چنین از شمار بوالعجبی ست
جمال دختر رز نور چشم ماست مگر — شب سیاه صباح سفید می آرد
که در نقاب ز جاجی و پردهٔ عنبیست — چراغ مطلب ' از دودمان بولهبی ست
بیارمی که چو حافظ مدام استغفار — مگو ز دوست ملامت بود نظیری را
به گریه سحری و نیاز نیم شبیست — که مستی سحری از نیم شبی است

(3)

بکوی میکده یارب سحر چه مشغله بود — بغمزه روز الستم همین معامله بود
که جوش شاهد وساقی و شمع و مشعله بود — ابد رسید و نیاسودم اینچه مشغله بود
حدیث عشق که از حرف و صوت مستغنیست — نصیب من ز ازل درد بیدوا گردید
بنالهٔ دف و نی در خروش ولوله بود — که بردباری هر کس بقدر حوصله بود
مباحثی که دران حلقهٔ جنون میرفت — دلم ز سر دهانش بقیل و قال فتاد
ورای مدرسه و قیل و قال مسئله بود — لطیفهٔ ز لبش صد هزار مسئله بود
قیاس کردم ازان ترک چشم شهر آشوب — لبش بدادن کامم نمود جهد اما
ز خیل دلشدگانش هزار در گله بود — بغمزه کرد حوالت که بد معامله بود
ز احترام نظر سعد درست که دوش — فریب قول بد اندیش گرگ قاصد گشت
میان ماه و رخ یار من مقابله بود — ربود یوسفی از ما که چشم قافله بود
دهان یار که در میان درد حافظ داشت — بنکته گفت خجل میکنم نظیری را
فغان که وقت مروت چو تنگ حوصله بود — ز قول خویش فراموش کرد این صله بود

(4)

ای صبا نکهتی از کوی فلانی بمن آر — ای صبا از گل عطار نشانی بمن آر
زار و بیمار غم راحت جانی بمن آر — و ز گلستان نشاپور خزانی بمن آر
قلب بیحاصل ما را بزن اکسیر مراد — تیر باران ستم از پی هم چند رسد
یعنی از خاک در دوست نشانی بمن آر — ناوکی میکشم از سینه کمانی بمن آر
در کمین گاه نظر با دل خویشم جنگست — هر نشانی که بسوداش دهی سود دهد
ز ابرو و غمزهٔ او تیر و کمانی بمن آر — اگر از مایه نمانده است زیانی بمن آر
منکران راهم ازین می دوسه ساغر بکشان — چون شرر در دل سنگست است ز خامان سخنم
وگر ایشان نستانند روانی بمن آر — تا بر آرم نفس سوخته جانی بمن آر
ساقیا عشرت امروز بفردا مفکن — ملک گیران سخن سکه بباطل زده اند
یا ز دیوان قضا خط امانی بمن آر — زین همه سیم دغل نقد روانی بمن آر
دلم از پرده بشد دوش که حافظ میگفت — دلم از صنعت الفاظ نظیری بگرفت
ای صبا نکهتی از کوی فلانی بمن آر — از دم پیر هری ساده بیانی بمن آر

(5)

گلبن عیش میدهد ساقی گلعذار کو — همنفسی بجان خرم قافلهٔ تتار کو
باد بهار می وزد بادهٔ خوشگوار کو — مردی از ان زمین کجا گردی از ان دیار کو
هر گلی نوز گلبن یاد همی کند ولی — جا دری ار بخواب خوش غارت صبر میکند
کوس سخن شنو کجا دیدهٔ اعتبار کو — گریهٔ شب و مرا شورش کار زار کو
مجلس بزم عیش را غالیهٔ مراد نیست — حادثه از هزار سواره نشاط بسته است
ای دم صبح خوش نفس ناله زلف یار کو — غمزده را طرب گهی جز سر کوی یار کو
حسن فروش کام نیست تحمل ای صبا — کس ننمود جرعهٔ کز جگرم گزک نخواست
دست زدم بخون دل بهر خدا نگار کو — خسته درد سر شدم بادهٔ لعبی خمار کو
گفت مگر ز لعل من بوسه نداری آرزو — هست ز گوشهٔ لعبی عیش مدامم آرزو
مردم ازین هوس دلی قوت اختیار کو — زد می ناشتا دلم مستی پایدار کو
حافظ اگر چو در سخن خازن گنج حکمتست — سخت نظیری از ازل حادثه رای آمد
از غم روزگار دون طبع سخن گذار کو — توشهٔ عشرتش دهی راحت روزگار کو

These are parallel odes by which we can judge the respective merits of both the master-minds of Persia. More instances might be given, if space would permit.

NAẒĪRĪ AND GHĀLIB

Ghālib, who is regarded as a first-rate poet of Urdu, does not lag behind in Persian poetry. He calls himself a follower of Naẓīrī Like Naẓīrī, Ghālib has also given expression to Ṣūfistic thought He has tried to follow Naẓīrī and we can say that he has succeeded in his attempt. He writes:—

نظيري لا اُبالي خرام بهنجار خاصه خودم بچالش آورد

'Naẓīrī, who walks wantonly in love, has brought me to follow his special path.

We may put their respective odes, side by side and compare them:—

Naẓīrī (نظيري)	(1)	Ghālib (غالب)
بوادی که در ان خضررا عصا خفتست		نظر بظاهر و صیاد در قفا خفت ست
بسینه مي سپرم راه گر چه پا خفتست		اجل رسیده چه داند بلا کجا خفت ست
وگر ز ایمني راه و قرب کعبه چه حظ		کجا ز عشوه آن چشم نیم باز رهم
مرا که ناقه ز رفتار ماند و پا خفتست		که فتنه خاسته از خواب و پای ما خفتست
ببین ز دور مجو قرب شه که منظر را		شمیـــم مهر ز باغ وفا نمي آید
دریچه باز و بدروازه اژدها خفتست		بهر چمن که تو بشگفتهٔ صبا خفتست
بدین نیاز که باتست نار مي رسدم		شب امید به تمنای آشنا خفتست
گدا به سائه دیوار پادشاه خفتست		که آشنا به تمنـای آشنا خفتست
بخواب چون خودم آسوده دل مدان غالب		فسانه صرف نظیري مکن که خواب کند
که خسته غرقه بخون خفته است تا خفتست		شکستهٔ که بصد درد مبتلا خفتست

(2)

پس از کشتن بخواهم دید نازم بدگماني را		کجا بودی که امشب سوختي آزده جاني را
بخود پیچد که هی هی دي غلط کردم فلاني را		بقدر روز محشر طول دادي هر زماني را
دلم بر رنج نا برداري فرهاد مي سوزد		سوالی کن زمن امروز تا غوغا بشهر افتد
خداوندا بیا مرز آن شهید امتحانی را		که اعجاز فلاني کرد گویا بیزباني را
نشاط لذت آزار را نازم که در مستي		بهر جنس که میگرند اخلاص وفا خوب است

هلاک فتنه دارد ذوق مرگ ناگهاني را | پس از عمری گذر افتاد بر ما کاروانی را
بجز سوزنده اخگر گل نه گنجد درگریبانم | کتاب هفت ملت گر بخواند آدمي عامیست
بد آموز عتابم برنتابم مهربانی را | نخواند تا ز جزو آشنائي داستاني را
دلم معبود زردشست ' غالب فاش میگویم | نمیدانم نظیری کیست چون مي آمدم زان کو
به خس یعني قلم من داده‌ام آذر فشاني را | بحال مرگ دیدم بر سر راه ' ناتواني را

(3)

تا ز دیوانم که سر مست سخن خواهد شدن | عمر اگر با قیست رنجشها کهن خواهد شدن
این مئ از قحط خریداري کهن خواهد شدن | آن لبان تلخگو شیرین سخن خواهد شدن
کوکبم را در عدم اوج قبولی بوده است | باز خواهد آمدن از نقش بازیبا خیال
شهرت شعرم به گیتي بعد من خواهد شدن | این درچشم بتگر من تب شکن خواهد شدن
مطرب از شعرم بهر بزمی که خواهد زدنوا | پاسخ گفتار زشت ماهم استغفار ماست
چاکها ایثار جیب پیرهن خواهد شدن | کی صنم گویا بکفر برهمن خواهد شدن
حرف حرفم در مذاق فتنه جا خواهد گرفت | با ز عشق حیله گر شاهد فریبي میکند
دستگاه ناز شیخ و برهمن خواهد شدن | یوسفی هرگوشه درچه بی رسن خواهد شد
کاش سنجیدي که بهر قتل معني یک قلم | من کجا وعیش و مستي باده بر من زهر باد
جلوهٔ کلک و رقم دار و رسن خواهد شدن | بی تو گر شکر خورم تلخم دهن خواهد شدن
گرد پندار وجود از رهگزر خواهد نشست | اسم اعظم ثبت لعل تست پاکش وارهان
بحر توحید عیانی موجزن خواهد شدن | این نگین روزی نصیب اهرمن خواهد شدن
در تنه هر حرف غالب چیده‌ام میخانهٔ | جیب ماتم دیدگان چاکست تا دامان حشر
تا ز دیوانم که سر مست سخن خواهد شدن | شاهد حال نظیري پیرهن خواهد شدن

The respective merits of Naẓīrī and Ghālib may be gathered from these parallel odes:—

QASĀI'D

The Kulliyāt (Nawal Kishore ed.) contains Qaṣīdas, numbering thirty-eight only. The Qaṣīdas are, on the whole, written in a simple, lucid and clear style. They are devoid of those subtleties and rhetorical devices which characterise the Qaṣidas of Khāqānī, Anwarī, Badr-i-chāch and Urfī. Of the thirty-eight qaṣīdas, one is in praise of Allah, the Prophet and his companions, one in praise of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, one in praise of Imām Riḍā, one in praise of Imām Abul Ḥasan, one in praise of

the Eighth Imām, one in praise of poet Sanāī', one on the birth of his son and daughter (twins), one on his brother's death, one in praise of his own poetry and eulogy of the Prophet.

The kings, princes and chiefs, who are among the patrons of Naẓīrī and to whom the poems are addressed, are as follows:—

Emperor Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar, *four* poems; prince Salīm, one and Emperor Jahāngir, *five*; Prince Murād, *one*; Nawrang Khān, *one*; Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Azīz Khān Kawka, *two*; Iraj Mirzā, son of the Khān khānān, *one*; 'Abdur-Raḥim Khān khānān, *ten*; the Khān-khānān with an eulogy of the Prophet and description of the journey to and from Mecca, *five*.

Some relevant extracts from qaṣīdas are given below, which will throw light on the merit of the poet in this respect.

The following qaṣīda, which is in divine praise, begins thus:—

ای جلالت خلوت از اغیار تنها ساخته
حکمت تو از کرم دی کار فردا ساخته
پرده از روی صفات ذات خود برداشته
آنچه پنهان بود در علم آشکارا ساخته
عقل کل بکشوده بر خورشید ذاتت روزنی
وز فروغش دیدهٔ هر ذره پنها ساخته
شحنهٔ عشقت تشنه بر سر بازار کون
درس گاه عقل را دکان سودا ساخته
در هدایت عشق را از شور عشق انگیخته
وز ریاح آنس ایشان روح پیدا ساخته [1]

'Thy glory likes seclusion free from strangers,
Thy wisdon accomplishes to-morrow's work through yesterday's kindness.
Thou hast removed the veil from the face of the qualities of thy Being,
Thou hast made manifest what was hidden in thy knowledge;
The Universal intellect opened a window upon the sun of thy Being,
And from its light, it has endowed the eyes of every atom with a vision.

[1] Diwān, p. 304.

The sentinel of thy Love is sitting in the market of the world.
It has turned the school of intellect into a ware-house.'

The qaṣīda beginning with the extract noted below, contains the poet's intention to visit the Holy Land, Mecca, together with the praise of his patron-in-chief, the Khān khānān :—

ز هنر بخود نگنجم چو بخم مئ مغالی
بدرد لباس بر تن چو بجوشدم معانی
دل زاهد و برهمن ز غرور قرب من خون
نه بکعبه ام نیازی نه پذیرم ارمغانی
عجب ار نبوده باشد خضری بجستجویم
که فتاده ام بظلمت چو زلال زندگانی
ز طلب عنان نه پیچم همین که ره درازست
نه رسم اگر بمنزل برسم کاروانی
همه عیش این جهانی بعنایت تو دیدم
چه عجب اگر بیابم ز تو زاد آن جهانی
بخدای کعبه دارم ز در خدائگان رو
نه فریب تازه دارم نه دروغ پاستانی

'My skill controls me not like wine in the jar of a tavern-keeper ;
When my heart is full of meaning, it rends the clothes on my body;
The heart of a hermit or Brahmin is full of blood through the pride of proximity with me,
I have neither supplication at the Kaba, nor do I accpet any present.
It is no wonder if Khiḍar be seeking me,
As I am to be found, like limpid water, in the reign of darkness.
I cannot give up search, though the path be long,
If I cannot reach my destination, I can reach a caravan.
I have enjoyed pleasures of this world through your kindness,

What warder! if I get provision of the next (world) through thee.
By God of the Kaba, I turn my face away from other masters,
I practise neither new deception, nor old fraud.'

The qaṣīda beginning with the following couplets, contains Ṣūfistic ideas. In it, the poet sings, in the same vein, of his aloofness from the world and of the praise of the Khān khānān:—

چندی بغلط بتکده کردیم حرم را
وقتست که از کعبه بر آریم صنم را
بیخ هوس و میل ببریم که زشت است
خار و خس بیگانه گلستان ارم را
ما و در آسودگی مرگ کزین بیش
زحمت نتوان داد شفارا و الم را
عمریست که همسایهٔ بختم درین کو
یکبار ندیدیم ره خانهٔ هم را
هر دست به پیچاک سر زلف نیرزد
انگشت خم ارزنده بود خاتم جم را
تنهای این بادیه را شور غریب است
مجنون نه سیه خانه شناند نه خم را

'Wrongly for a time I turned the sanctuary of the Kāba into a temple;
It is high time that I should take out idols from the Kāba.
I shall uproot avavice and greed which is ugly,
I should remove the rubbish from the garden of Irān.
We and the door of easeful death go together,
We won't bother about health or pain.
We have been living all our life in the lane,
We have not even once seen the house.
Every hand cannot desire to touch the curly locks of hair,
The ring of Jamshed befits the curved finger.
The loneliness of the desert has strange tumult.
Majnūn cannot know a block-house from a camp.

'Urfī has also written a qaṣīda in honour of the same chief. It begins thus:—

اقبال کرم میگزد ارباب همم را * همت نخورد نیشتر لا و نعم را

TARKĪB-BAND

The number of poems in the Tarkīb-band in the Kulliyat (Nawal Kishore ed.) is eight. Of these, one is dedicated to twelve Imāms, having an equal number of bands; another on his intense desire to visit Mecca; a third on his return to India from the Holy Land and the praise of the Prophet; a fourth on Prince Murād's death; a fifth on spring and prayer for the health of the Khān-Khānān; a sixth on the death of his son, Nur-ud-Dīn; a seventh on the death of Abul 'Ali Beg; and an eighth on the death of poet Sanāi'.

The elegy just referred to is given below only in part for want of space. It begins thus:—

لب خوش نگشتهٔ خنده ره چنگ مي زند
در بزم خنده بر آهنگ مي زنـد
هرگز زمانه جامهٔ ماتم برون نکـرد
تا رفته شب بدامن شب چنگ میزند
وقت گذشته را نیاسف ز پی مرد
کا ریخا نشـاط گام بمـرسنگ میزند
دست اجل به تیغ سیاست ببریده باد
از خاک مهر بر دهن تنگ مي زند
آرائش جنـازه و دستـار مي کند
گوئی که گل بر افسروار رنگ مي زند
این چرخ شوخ دیده عجب بی بصارت ست
بر جام عشرت که به بین سنگ مي زند
فرزند شاه اکبر والا نژاد او مرد
شیون بر آورید که سلطان مراد مرد

Ghālib has also written a similar elegy (in the same form of poetical composition) on the death of Farkhunda Shāh, the son of Bahādur Shah, who, like Murād, was cut off in the prime of life. It begins:—

ای دل بچشم زخم حوادث فگار شو
ای چشم از تراوش دل اشکبار شو

TARJĪ'-BAND

There are two Tarjī'-band poems—one is on the decoration of Agra, together with the praise of Emperor Jahāngīr, the other is in imitation of Sādī. The former contains five bands, the latter twenty-one. It (*i.e.*, the latter one) begins:—

ای عقد کشای هر کمندی * بردار ز پای شوق بندی
یک لحظه ز سرکشی فرود آی * تا در تو رسد نیازمندی
صد کام ز چاشنی بسوزد * کز نام تو بشکینم قندی

'O thou that opens the knot of every noose,
Remove the fetters from the leg of ardour.
Lesson thy obstinacy for a moment,
That a suppliant may approach thee.
The sugar-candy of thy name that I taste,
Is envied by a hundred palates.'

QATAĪT

There are in all five poems in this fragmentary form. One is on the birth of Mirzā Dārāb, the son of the Khān khānān, one is on Emperor Akbar's death, and the rest deal with morals.

The qīta on the death of Emperor Akbar runs as follows:—

جهاندار فرمان روا شاه اکبر * که ملک از پدر تا بآدم گرفته
در عالم جگر تشنه سیراب گشته * نگین کز سر انگشت او نم گرفته
ز ایثار زر بس عرق کرده دستش * ورقهای افلاک برهم گرفته
چو رفته بمسند بمعراج رفته * گرفته جهانرا چو خاتم گرفته
قضا پای کیوان بایوان کشوره * عطاپای رفرف بسلم گرفته
چنان کرد و کار جهان دست عدلش * که دینش مسیحا و مریم گرفته
چو سال وفاتش بتاریخ دیدم * به نیروی ایزد در عالم گرفته

'Emperor Akbar is the ruler of the world,
The conqueror of the world from his father to Adam!
Both the worlds were thirsty. They are now satisfied,

The signet-ring received moisture from his finger-tip,
His hand sweated much through distributing gold !
His ascent to the throne was like Ascension.
Like a seal, he was a sign of the conquest of the world !
He introduced the desires of Saturn in his palace,
He won the gift of Rafraf by a ladder,
The sway of his justice administered the world !
His religion had the merit of Jesus and Mary,
When I *sought the date of his death*
(It was) with divine power he caught the world (*i.e.*, conquered it)[1]

The italicised expression above being the chronogram, gives 1014 (1605) as the date of the Emperor's death.

BENGALI VAISHNAVAS ON HINDI-PEN

KALIDAS MUKERJEE, M.A., M.R.A.S. (LOND.)

To consider God as beloved is first marked in the writings of the Sūfī poets. Malik Mohammad Jāyasi, Kutuban and Manjhan did the same by writing the Padmāvata, Mṛgāvati and Madhumālati respectively. It was later on found in the achievements of the Bengali Vaishnavas as well. The Hindi world is rather silent on the deeds of the Bengali Vaishnavas, but here and there scanty references are evident. The earliest specimen in Hindi where the names of Rūpa and Sanātana occur is that of the latter half of the 16th century. It is in a book known as "The Discourses of the Eighty-four Vaishnavas" : चौरासी वैष्णवों की वार्ता : compiled by Viṭṭalnāth, the famous son of the great Vallabhāchārya. The following is found in it in Brajbhākhā prose :—

तब वे बंगाली तहां ते भाजे सों मथुरा आये। तब रूपसनातन के पास आय के सब बात कही।

Next shines the famous Bhaktamāl of Nābhādās where we find the great Bengali Vaishnavas. Among the many commentaries written on this Bhaktamāl that of Priyādās has acquired much fame. The other day I found a manuscript copy of the later half of the 17th century. It is also a commentary on that Bhaktamāl. Its language is plain and simple Oudhī in which the Bengali Vaishnavas have been described well and good. It does not, of course, deal with the life and parentage of the Vaishnavas, but supplies us with important materials concerning them. At the end of the manuscript copy the author has revealed his identity in the following lines :—

नाभाजु की अविलाष पूरण लै करयौ मै
तौ ताकी साखी प्रथम सुनाइ नीकी गाइ कै ॥
भक्ति विस्वास जाको ताहि सौ प्रकाश को जै
भीजै रंग हियो खिजै सत नि लड़ाइ कै ॥
समत प्रसिद्ध दश सात सत उहु तरभाख
गुण मास वदी सप्तमी विताइ कै ॥
नारायण दास सुखरास भक्तमाल लै कै
प्रियादास दास उर वसो रही छाइ कै ॥

The life of some of the Bengali Vaishnavas written in Oudhī language stands in English as follows :—

"Shree Krishna Chaitanya Mahāprabhu jū kī tīkā :

"Lord Krishna, the son of Yashodā, being a bit bashful before the beautiful cow-blondes for his blue-complexion assumed a fair one and appeared as Chaitanya on the laps of Sachimātā in the Gauḍa Country. He then performed certain deeds and thereby drew affection and admiration; (when he grew old) he at times became quite pale being overpowered with devotion, and on certain occasions was out of his sense. Sometimes he played Rādhikā and it was due to sentiment. No doubt, he was an incarnation of God, and no need proving it. He

visited Jagannāth. He showed himself with four and and at times with six arms and thereby drew admiration and esteem. He, later on, was proclaimed 'Chaitanya.' Before the birth of Chaitanya there was none in Gauḍa who could be called a devotee and hence none knew as to what 'Bhakti' is ; but after his birth Gauḍa was plunged in devotion. This led Gauḍa to call Chaitanya as 'Hari.' Chaitanya became the leader to help the people in shunning up the worldly calamities and showed them the path to reach their ultimate goal. It is all past and only the achievements of Chaitanya are found in books to commemorate his memory. None stands as witness save these letters. Chaitanya's power was so great that people doing worse deeds than Ajāmil also could achieve salvation through his grace." (Stanzas 326-28.)

"Rūpa-Sanātan jū kī tikā:

"Nabhadas was a life-long preacher of Vairāgya, there remained only his poems to speak of his truth. Nabhadas preached also of the devotion for Rādhā-Krishna—who had divulged their mystic and amazing deeds. Rūpa and Sanātan were great saints. They went to Vrindāvan thinking it to be the Vraja of the bygone ages. They prayed to God according to the lines of the Bhāgavata and which is pleasing to those who are filled with sentiment (रस). They had gone to Vrindāvan as they were ordered by the Mahāprabhu and there they composed many 'Granthas.' Each and every word of the Granthas composed by them makes the people thrill with emotion, the hair of their bodies stand erect, and tears gush forth from their eyes.

"Once while Rūpa was in Nandgāon, Sanātan went to him. Rūpa offered 'Kshira' as offering (भोग) and while chatting asked the welfare of his wife at home. Sanātan said that he would reply to it while dining. Then at that time he explained to Rūpa that when he had once abandoned his wife and offered himself to devotion, it was not prudential thinking of the wife or home. At this, hot tears came forth from their eyes, but this tear was not for the beloved at home, but for that Supreme Beloved for whom they had forsaken everything. Once when Rūpa heard that he was praised by the people, he was so sad at heart that he fainted away. Rūpa was very sober and cared little for his health. On some other occasion the saint Karnapūra went to meet him hearing of his profound devotion. Seeing him every limb of Rūpa began to tremble, as if he were before a great fire. Such mystic things are beyond mentioning.

"Once Lord Krishna appeared before Rūpa in his dream and revealed as to how and in what state He would meet him. Really He met him with all His glory which is beyond the power of a man to describe. (The poet says) 'If I try to do so it will be something like filling the vast ocean in a small jug.'

"Sanātan lived in the holy Nandgāon. Once a lad of dark complexion passed by him. Sanātan asked his address. When he went away Sanātan searched each and every house of the village but did not get him. Then he thought that the lad was none but Lord Krishna, and he promised that next when He came he would not let Him go so easily. Then he began meditating on the dark-red turban that he had seen on His head. Sanātan lived in that holy village for a certain period and composed Kāvyas (काव्य). After some time Sanātan went to his brother Rūpa to Vrindāvan. There they lived meditating. Words fail to describe the purity of their character." (Stanzas 353-59.)

" Shree Jīva Gosāi jū kī tīkā :

" Jīva composed many Granthas. He threw the wealth that he had, in the river Yamunā, and all that came later on. He asked every body to pay respect to the saints. He also explained to them the various characteristic features of the great devotees. Jīva Gosāi was a man of ideal character and there was no limit to his devotion. He was a 'paccā-vairāgī.' One cannot describe his deeds." (Stanza 370.)

" Shree Gadādhar Bhaṭṭa jū kī tīkā :

" When Jīva Gosāī heard the couplet of Gadādhar Bhaṭṭa which was filled with devotion for Shree-Krishna, he at once sent two saints to fetch him anigh. The saints reached the outskirts of the village where Gadādhar lived and found a man seated on a well. They asked him about Gadādhar Bhaṭṭa. The man, who in fact was Gadādhar himself when he heard that he was called by Gosāijī, was so filled with emotion that he fainted away, and God forbid, fell on the ground and not in the well. When he regained his sense and was given the letter of Jīva he bowed low to the letter and at once started for Vrindāvan. When he met Gosāijī he was so overpowered with emotion that his nerves failed him and tears inundated his eyes. However, when he was himself again, he recited the same couplet and later on many others filling with ecstasy of joy all those who were present. In that assembly there was a man named Kalyān Singh, Rajput by caste. He was sad for his deceased wife, but hearing Gadādhar he forgot all that. A certain Mahanta was also present there. He was given the first seat of honour. When the people asked the reason for it Gadādhar said that he was a great saint.

" Once a thief entered the house of Gadādhar and collected all that he could get. But lo, the bundle was too heavy to be lifted alone. Gadādhar was glad enough to approach the scene and helped the thief in lifting the bundle. It was, of course, something like expecting water out of stone and the thief asked for its reason. The saint replied that next morning he would get ten times the value he was taking. At this the thief fell on his feet and became his disciple. No doubt, Gadādhar was a great saint and spent much of his time in reading the Bhāgavata. He had shown the right path to attain salvation." (Stanzas 518-25.)

" Gosāī Kāshīshwar jū kī tīkā :

" Kāshīshwar was a great saint and lived in Nīlāchal. Later on he was ordered by Mahāprabhu to go to Vrindāvan. There he was made the chief priest. He defeated many learned Pandits on various occasions while discussing on Shāshtras. His discussions were very interesting and many assembled at the place." (Stanza 393.)

" Prabodhānanda Saraswati jū kī tīka :

" Prabodhānanda was very witty and at the same time a great sentimentalist. He had a great fascination for the group of Shree Krishna Chaitanya. He said that the way in which Rādhā and Krishna used to play in pleasure gardens was quite a new one. Prabodhānanda lived in Vrindāvan and pleased all those came to him. Many were turned to great saints while listening to him." (Stanza 607.)

" Vishnupurī jū kī tīkā :

" Once when Mahāprabhujī was sitting in a large gathering in Jagannāth surrounded by great saints, Vishnupurī said that one could attain salvation by living in Kāshī. At this Mahāprabhujī gave him a piece in writing and asked him to do so." (Stanza 173.)

" Shree Madhu Gosāī jū kī tīkā :

" Madhu Gosāi went to Vrindāvan and was very anxious to meet Lord Krishna. Therefore in His search he traversed many a forest day and night and totally forgot of hunger and thirst. Once while passing the bank of the river Yamunā he met his Beloved beside a crag. The Lord with His smiling face approached him and embraced him close firm and tight." (Stanza 375.)

" Shree Loknāth Gosāi jū kī tikā :

" Loknāth belonged to the 'Chaitanya-group.' His manners were simple and pleasing. His love for Rādhā-Krishna was like that of a fish for water. Loknāth had a good grasp over the Bhāgavata and he asked others to recite it. He had a keen interest for the Rāsa-performance (रास), and he told the people their duties in this world." (Stanza 374.)

" Shree Gopāl Bhaṭṭa Gosāi jū kī tīka :

" Gopāl Bhaṭṭa was mad after Krishna. His offerings (भोग) to God were of different kinds and he was famous for his mystic deeds. The charming sight of Vrindāvan had occupied a place in his heart which made him settle there. He adopted the good and abandoned the evils. Gopal was filled with pity, was pious and a perfect devotee." (Stanza 371.)

" Shree Raghunāth Gosāi jū kī tīkā :

" Raghunāth had a great affection for his family in his younger days, but he gave up all and settled in Nīlāchal. His father used to send him to fetch money, but instead of doing so he was marked sitting beside Chaitanya. He used to gaze at the door of the temple with expectant eyes. When ordered by the Mahāprabbu he left Nilāchal for Vrindāvan and settled beside the Rādhākunda. It is hard to describe the way in which he lived and behaved with others. His fame spread far and wide." (Stanzas 323-24.)

" Shree Nityānand Prabhu jū kī tīkā :

" Sentiment had made Baladeva (the brother of Krishna) quite enchanted to appear in the guise of Nityānand. He (Nityānand) later on became a Mahanta. He was a perfect sage and visited many 'Parishadas.' While listening to him many became overwhelmed. There are many Granthas which speak highly of him." (Stanza 325.)

Here ends the description of some of the Bengali Vaishnavas found in the manuscript copy. In addition to these a few more have been mentioned. It would have been much helpful if side by side with the description their lives and various other deeds were depicted. However, whatever we get is due to the gift of the Hindi world for which we are much indebted. This may, to some extent, supplement the making of the history of Bengali literature.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Inter-'Varsity Board.

The Inter-University Board of India, has, it is understood, requested the different Indian Universities to offer a few stipends to advanced students of history in order to enable them to avail themselves of the facilities afforded by the Imperial Record Department for training in the principles and methods of Archives administration as well as the scientific use of records in original investigations.

The Board has also sought the opinion of the Universities on the proposed course of Extension lectures at the commencement of every academic year for presenting to the students and junior practitioners a general outline of the origin and growth of medicine with special reference to and a detailed discussion of the various epochs of Indian civilization and their contribution to the knowledge of the science and art of medicine, as well as the changing methods of affording medical relief for fighting epidemics.

Their opinion as to the desirability of arranging for the exchange of professors and other teachers between different Indian Universities, has also been asked by the Board.

Commercial Research

The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, attached to the Commerce Department of the Government of India, is preparing a brief survey of investigation carried out by Universities, the Government, or private industrial organisations, which have been either commercially developed or are likely to be so developed, or may be developed if suitable help is forthcoming.

The survey is expected to enable the Commerce Department to bring to the notice of promoters of industry the claims of research in any particular line, and, in suitable cases, to provide facilities for the completion of investigations likely to be useful for the promotion of Indian industry.

The various chambers of commerce have heen addressed by the Board on the subject.

The Commerce Member of the Government of India is the President of the Board ; the Director-General of Supply is the Vice-President, and Dr. S. Bhatnagar, of the Lahore University, is the Director.

Training of Women Health Workers

The need for an institution where women could be trained in various branches of social welfare work was stressed by Col. A. C. Chatterjee, Director of Public Health, Bengal, at a recent meeting of the Bangiya

Samaj Vijnan Parisat (Bengali Institute of Sociology), at the Calcutta Dental College and Hospital, Lower Circular Road, Dr. John B. Grant, Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, presided. There was a large attendance.

Col. Chatterjee, in the course of his address, referred to problems that were arising which concerned the well-being of the nation. These included public health, midwifery, general nursing, tuberculosis, home visiting, children's aid and after-care work. Progress in these branches of public health work was retarded because a sufficient number of trained workers was not available. And because a large amount of the work pertained to women and children and it was desirable that a more systematic effort should be made to train women workers.

To meet this need Col. Chatterjee suggested the establishment of a women's college for social work. The college should have three courses—a preliminary or a basic course which would be common to all, an undergraduate course for social workers and a diploma or graduate course. Each course should be a stepping stone to the next. All work, as far as possible, should be co-ordinated and the minimum qualification for entrance into the institution should be that of Matriculation.

Col. Chatterjee added that for the establishment of such an institution it would not do merely to look to the Government. The public should take the initiative in the matter.

Healthier Schools

Under the auspices of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health and the Publicity Department of the Corporation of Calcutta, a joint exhibition was organized with a view to imparting visual health education to the pupils of high schools in Calcutta and to dovelop a school health programme. The exhibition was held in the Museum of the All-India Institute of Hygiene, Central Avenue and the Commercial Museum, College Street Market, on April 27, 28 and 29.

The University of Calcutta also co-operated with the organisers by lending educative charts and models prepared by the Students' Welfare Committee. Special demonstrators conducted batches of students round the two Museums. Pupils were brought from the first four forms only of the high schools.

Training in Rural Welfare Work

A simple scheme for the training of the students of Calcutta University and colleges in rural reconstruction is to be launched shortly.

For this purpose the following appeal has been issued by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, and Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister in charge of Agriculture, Industries and Rural Reconstruction Departments:—

"It is being gradually recognized that a well-planned scheme of rural reconstruction offers the best solution of the economic educational and cultural problems of our rural areas. And it is also being increasingly realized that there are immense possibilities through organization of self-help of the rural population.

"It is indeed a happy sign of the times that the students of our educational institutions have been seriously thinking of a programme of useful and

constructive service during vacations. While there is no dearth of enthusiasm, there are many who have no clear ideas either as regards the aim and object of the movement of rural reconstruction or the methods which should be followed to achieve success.

" In order to give some information to the student enthusiasts as to the ideology and methodology of rural reconstruction and an elementary knowledge about some of the subjects appertaining to rural welfare, the Director of Rural Reconstruction, Bengal, has, with our permission, drawn up a simple scheme of a week's training for the students of Calcutta University and colleges before the summer vacation commences.

" We appeal to those students of the University and colleges who are keen about rural welfare work during the ensuing summer vacation, to receive training in the classes organized by the Director and to do substantial practical work in their own villages during the vacation.

" We also appeal to the heads of the institutions to encourage their students to join the training classes and thus give a constructive direction to the energies of the youths of the province."

Mr. T. I. M. Nurannabi Chaudhuri, I.C.S., Director of Rural Reconstruction, Bengal, has asked the heads of Calcutta colleges to send the names of the volunteers who are eager to receive training.

Lectures were delivered on the following subjects from 7 p.m. in the evening at a central place for about a week:—

Ideology of rural reconstruction ; methodology of rural reconstruction ; rural reconstruction as part of the world youth movement—the example of foreign countries ; fundamental principles of rural hygiene and sanitation ; maternity and child welfare ; mass adult education—how it can be spread—the methods ; profitable agriculture ; the work-a-day problems of the cultivators and their solution ; common problems of rural drainage and rural irrigation and reclamation of fallow lands ; the proper housing and improvement of various livestock ; dairying and poultry keeping for profit ; wider application of the principles of co-operation in rural economy.

Those students who are keen on doing some practical work during the ensuing summer vacation in their villages are advised to receive this training.

If necessary, arrangements will be made for giving practical training to some students in selected villages in 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah Districts.

Tagore's 80th Birthday

Santiniketan celebrated the eightieth birthday of its founder-president, Rabindra Nath Tagore, in the evening of 14th April when propitious Vedic hymns resounded the ' Mango Grove ' where the function was held in the presence of a large gathering and inmates of the Ashram.

The poet's birthday falls on May 8 but as the summer recess of the University begins at this time and as Dr. Tagore usually goes on holiday to the hills, his students, friends and admirers celebrate the occasion on the first day of the Bengali New Year when the entire province is in a festive mood.

Seated on a decorated *dais*, the poet received felicitations and gave readings from his drama *The King of the Dark Chamber*.

In a congratulatory message to Dr. Tagore, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek said :—

" As the smaller ranges look up to the snowy heights of the sacred peak and as all the rivers tend towards the vast deep, even like that does the whole world look up to you, respected Gurudeva Tagore, and tend towards you.

" On the auspicious occasion of the celebration of your eightieth birthday I take this opportunity to respectfully tender to you my heartiest and warmest congratulations.

" In wishing you good health and long life I pray that you may be spared to humanity for many more years to come so that you may shed over ever-widening areas of the world the benign influence of your love of peace and fellowship and also propagate your noble ideas in the fields of education and culture. May you hold up a beacon-light to this benighted and suffering world for ever and ever."

Chen Li Fu, Education Minister, Chinese National Government, has sent a poem of his own, composed especially for the occasion.

Miscellany

HOUSING LEGISLATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Before 1930 verry little progress had been made in the United Kingdom in improving the housing conditions of the poorest sections of the working class. The hope that public authorities, by increasing the supply of new working class dwelling, would contribute indirectly to the improved housing of the slum dwellers by a kind of filtering-up process was disappointed.

The Housing Act of 1930 marked a definite turning point in the entire policy. For the first time the public authorities stated the criteria according to which a house would be considered unfit for human habitation. A slum was defined in effect as an area in which " the dwelling houses.....are by reason of disrepair or sanitary defects unfit for human habitation, or are by reason of their bad arrangement, or the narrowness or bad arrangement of the streets, dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants of the area."

In order to be certain that the improvement in housing conditions accomplished through public initiative (slum clearance) would benefit those living under substandard conditions, the Act of 1930 made it a statutory obligation for the local authorities to find accommodation for people displaced from cleared areas.

A further step was taken in 1935, when for the first time a standard for measuring overcrowding was introduced.*

The most effective measures employed to combat overcrowding were the re-allocation of tenancies on the local authorities' own estates and the provision of new dwellings for overcrowded families. In order to prevent future overcrowding, the Minister of Health fixed for each local authority in the country a date as from which it became an offence to occasion new overcrowding.

Government encouragement of differential rents adapted to the individual tenant's ability to pay is a link in the policy based on the principle

* The Housing Act of 1935 lays down that a dwelling house shall be deemed to be overcrowded when the number of persons sleeping in the house either—

(1) Is such that any two persons over 10 years of age of opposite sex, not being persons living together as husband and wife, must sleep in the same room; or

(2) Is, in relation to the number and floor area of the rooms of which the house consists, in excess of the permitted number of persons as defined below :

(a) Where a house consists of—

1 room	2.
2 rooms	3.
3 rooms	5.
4 rooms	7½.
5 rooms or more	10, with an addititional 2 in respect of each room in excess of 5.

(b) Where the floor area of a room is—

110 sq. ft. or more	2.
Between 90 and 110 sq. ft.	1½.
Between 70 and 90 sq. ft.	1.
Between 50 and 70 sq. ft.	½.
Under 50 sq. ft.	Nil.

that no one must be obliged to live in substandard housing conditions. Since a nation cannot expect to have a morally and physically healthy population unless it is housed in accordance with the established minimum standards, the families who can afford to live in dwellings over the standard must pay enough to allow poor families to live in standard dwellings.

A similar development, providing the low-income class with standard dwellings, has taken place in all the British Dominions.

In Canada, for instance, where the Minister of Finance is empowered under the National Housing Act of 1938 to grant loans to local housing authorities for the purpose of facilitating the construction of dwellings to be let to families of low incomes, the loans may be granted only for the purpose of low-rental housing projects intended to remedy shortage, overcrowding, or the substandard character of existing housing accommodation. Only families with a total income not exceeding five times the " economic rental " are entitled to rent a dwelling in which the loans are invested. If the family budgets are not sufficiently large to bear even this low rent, the local government may undertake to grant periodical contributions to allow reductions in the rents charged.

The upward trend of housing standards was probably most pronounced in New Zeland. The labour Government which came into office in 1935 wanted the term " worker's home " to cover the highest-grade home that had yet been achieved for the majority of any community. They wanted the worker's house to mean a home that set a new high standard and not merely a house that bore some relation to an average standard. In 1936 a housing survey covering 163,000 dwellings made by a number of local bodies, showed that 55,000 of those dwellings were such as to be considered substandard. In a very large percentage of these houses, shocking conditions prevailed. In a statement made in 1939 before the New Zealand Parliament Mr. Arstrong, the minister in charge of housing, declared that since the Government started housing operations and established the Department of Housing it had let contracts for well over 8,000 standard houses for rental, and in addition there were many houses being built for private ownership as a result of the more liberal lending policy of the State Advances Corporation.—C. M. Wright in the *International Labour Review*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

AMERICAN BANKING IN 1939

Banks were purchasers of Government securities on a large scale in 1939 and their combined holdings of direct and guaranteed obligations rose above the previous maximum reached in 1936. The growth in bank holdings during the year corresponded closely to the increase in the outstanding amount of publicly-offered direct and guranteed obligations of the United States Government other than United States Savings bonds which are purchased by banks only to a limited extent. Most of the increase in holdings of United States obligations was at member banks in New York City, which added substantially to their holdings of Treasury bonds and bills and also of guaranteed obligations. Member banks outside New York, as a group, reduced their holdings of direct obligations but purchased additional amounts of guaranteed obligations.

Federal Reserve Bank holdings of United States bonds and notes were substantially increased during the period following the outbreak of the European war when prices of these obligations decreased abruptly, but subsequently, when prices began to recover, some of these securities were sold. After the middle of June the Federal Reserve Banks did not always replace Treasury bills in their portfolio as they matured and by December 6 the System's bill portfolio, which had been $477,000,000 in June, was entirely liquidated. As a net result of all these operations, Reserve bank holdings of Government obligations showed a small reduction for the year.

Banking resources as a whole showed a further substantial growth in 1939, reflecting in large part additions to bank reserves, arising from gold imports, but also increase in bank loans and investments. The gold inflow in the first instance added to deposits and reserves of New York City banks and most of the increase in loans and investments during the year also occurred at these banks. Treasury operations and other financial and commercial transactions, however, redistributed the funds throughout the country, with the consequence that deposits and reserves of banks outside New York City also increased.

The amount of United States Government obligations, both direct and fully guaranteed, held by all commercial banks in the United States may be estimated to be about $16,200,000,000 at the end of 1939. This represents an increase of about $2,200,000,000 since the summer of 1938, mostly, at city banks. In 1937 there had been a substantial decrease, following 6 years of almost uninterrupted growth from about $5,000,000,000 in 1930 to over $15,000,000,000 in 1936. The proportion that commercial banks held of outstanding publicly offered direct and guaranteed obligations of the United States Government increased from about 33 per cent. in 1930 to 42 per cent. in 1936, and at the end of 1939 was about 38 per cent. The proportion of total earning assets of banks held in the form of United States Government securities increased from about 10 per cent. in 1930 to about 40 per cent. at the end of 1936 and has since continued at close to that level.

Most of the changes in bank holdings of United States Government securities in recent years have been at city banks. All banks in New York City and the banks in 100 other leading cities have accounted for over $1,900,000,000 of the increase of $2,200,000,000 estimated for all commercial banks since June, 1938.

New York City banks increased their holdings of Treasury bonds in the first half of 1939, reflecting in part exchanges for maturing notes but to a larger extent additional purchases. In the second half of the year, when Federal Reserve bank holdings of Treasury bills were declining New York City banks obtained additional amounts of bills. They purchased Government guaranteed obligations throughout the year, with the result that total Government security holdings at member banks in New York showed a growth of about $1,000,000,000 in 1939 to a level above the previous peak reached in 1936. At member banks in 100 other leading cities holdings remained close to the 1936 level; for the year as a whole increases in Treasury bond holdings and additions to guaranteed obligations exceeded reductions in Treasury notes by nearly $300,000,000; a large part of this growth came in the week ending December 27. Country bank holdings of direct obligations declined by about $250,000,000 in the first nine months of the year, while guaranteed obligations increased by $100,000,000. Information regarding country banks for the last quarter of the year is not yet available.

The sharp increase in business activity in the latter half of 1939 brought a growing need for funds to finance the enlarged inventories as well as the expansion of current operations, with the result that city banks experienced a livelier demand for loans from commercial and industrial borrowers. In this period commercial loans at banks in 101 leading cities rose by nearly $600,000,000 or 13 per cent. About half of this increase was in New York City. Taking the year as a whole, commercial loans increased at city banks in each Federal Reserve district except the San Fransisco district. During the first three quarters of the year, it appears that there was a moderate increase in commercial, industrial, and agricultural loans at member banks outside the leading cities. No reports are yet available from these banks for the final quarter of the year. Notwithstanding these increases, the aggregate volume of such loans at all member banks is still only about half of the level prevailing in the 1920's.

While the volume of both United States Government securities and commercial, industrial, and agricultural loans at banks has risen considerably, changes in holdings of other types of securities and in other types of loans have been small, except for short-time fluctuations in loans to security brokers and dealers in response to market conditions and offerings of new issues.—*Federal Reserve Bulletin* (January, 1940).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

WHAT IS A CLASS ?

The problem of classes in society and their significance in social change was first brought forcibly to public attention by revolutionary theorists, particularly the radical theorists of the French Revolution. It was from a study of the French Revolution, among other factors in his development, that Karl Marx was led to formulate his theory of the fundamental importance of classes in social change. With Friedrich Engels, who had studied the economic conditions of the English working-class in 1844, and through development of the ideas of the continental socialists, Marx was led to formulate the striking sentence of *The Communist Manfesto*: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class-struggles." To Marx, class betokened opposition and conflict by its very existence as a social institution.

For research, a concept of class which demands conflict as its essential characteristic is not usable, for sociological research seeks to discover what class makes men do and starts with the hypothesis that what men are doing in terms of their class realities is not one kind of behaviour (such as conflict) or another, but many different and often contradictory kinds in terms of the same class position held by them. Social research seeks to discover what *relations* men enter into because of their class, what tendencies towards class mixture or class concentration occur in social life *as it is lived*. Class opposition, class conflict, class struggle are not outside the purview of class analysis, to be sure. They are composite concepts which can be investigated only after the simple concept of class has been analyzed in a fashion empirically usable and tested in research. The conflicting alignment of classes as a universal historical phenomenon and as a fundamental premise of the driving force of social evolution in general still does not tell us how classes function in social relations to-day. A general

historico-economic analysis of classes in contemporary American life and their opposing interests still does not tell us how men in different classes are behaving in terms of their class position. It may be held that basic to strong labour unionism is class opposition economically founded ; and yet without field research we know little of the sociology of class feeling, class consciousness, and the consistencies of classwise or nonclasswise behaviour among labour unionists.

The concept of class that must be posited for use in research must be such that the multifarious actions of men can be appraised in terms of their reactions to their objectively determinable class position. Otherwise, the research begins in the midst of a maelstrom of unclear and inadequately understood social actions. The flights of fancy concerning the future of classes in society might be resolved into ascertainable tendencies if we knew actually what was going in the hinterland of men's behaviour in terms of class. What classes are objectively, and what men are doing in terms of them subjectively, are the two basic guide-lines in class analysis. To start with a subjective concept of class is to jump into a vicious circle.

While social life buzzes with activity, the sociologist of this type concerns himself with how men feel and the economist thrusts men's feelings aside as outside his picture. As a result, we assume that we know how men " feel " without reference to what they are " feeling " about, and we assume that we know *what* men are " feeling " about without knowing *how* they " feel " about it. Neither abstract economics of the money symbol nor abstract sociology of the attitude-pattern can come to grips with the concrete behaviour of men acting and living.—G. Simpson in the *American Sociological Review*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

District Development Scheme.—By Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E., LL.D. Bangalore Press. 1939.

Sir Mokshagandham Visvesvaraya is a pioneer in the field of economic planning in India. The present book is a sort of sequel to the two earlier treatises on the planned economic reconstruction of India. District Development Scheme, as proposed by the author, if brought into operation in the right spirit, is expected to provide an effective starting point for the economic reconstruction of the countryside. The specific aim of the plan at the outset will be to stimulate the productive capacity of the district and double its income in seven to ten years' time. Since there will be wanting men, money and directing ability to do this on any vast scale, it is proposed to confine the scheme at the outset to one or two districts in each province and State. The scheme aims at securing bare subsistence wants mainly for the rural population. It is intended for the rehabilitation of a district—not the province or the country as a whole.

There is no responsible agency or organisation at present, argues the author, to correct defects in the economic life of the people and stimulate progress. So a District Development Department associated with a District Economic Council is proposed for the purpose. Linked up with the District organisations there shall be village and town organisations to carry out the work. There are too many people employed in some occupation and too few in others, and production is impeded. To remedy this, a balanced redistribution of occupations is urged. Industries were badly neglected in the past. To make up speedily for past losses, special measures are contemplated to expand them and increase the proportion of the working population on them to three or four times its present strength. Steps should be taken to ensure 'free circulation of capital,' even if it necessitates Government sharing unfavourable risks. The average citizen should be educated and encouraged to work the proposed plan. He should be induced by lure of income and profit to raise his economic status.

Developments in other spheres—political, social and cultural—should, points out the distinguished author, be attempted by creating other independent agencies and not be mixed up with this scheme of district development. Although such beneficial measures should be worked together and in close harmony, the immediate aim of the scheme is economic betterment. "Material wants in which we are very poorly equipped at present must rank first and as they are fundamental to the very existence of the population, they are important enough to be treated as a class by themselves."

Most rural development schemes suffer from a confusion of ideas economic, political, cultural and social aspects of rural life are not considered separately for the purposes of rural reconstruction. All these problems are sought to be tackled by one and the same organisation, all at once. The result is a dismal failure. The author, therefore, with commendable wisdom, recommends economic planning of the district as the central movement; political, social and cultural movements come in to co-operate more or less in a subordinate capacity.

The author, in order to make his scheme successful, relies on the familiar aids to rural economic life, such as banking facilities, economic

surveys and statistics, protection, mass education, travel conveniences commercial museums, exhibitions, marketing organisation, transport facilities, central workshops for industries, trade schools, etc. He seems to think that an annual Government grant of Rs. 5 lakhs for each district should ordinarily be able to meet the needs of district development. This grant is to continue for the " first 4 or 5 years after which the experiment ought to be able to pay its own way." The financial implications of the scheme, so far as they go, do not appear to be appalling, but, perhaps, the estimates are a little on the optimistic side. Moreover, Sir M. Visvesvaraya takes for granted an organising ability which is hardly to be found in our country where centuries of political subjection has practically destroyed the traditions of self-government. Even then the author's scheme deserves the serious consideration of economists and statesmen.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Rural Bengal.—By H. S. M. Ishaque, B.Sc. (Aligarh), M.Sc. (Lucknow), I.C.S.

The object of the author in writing this book is " nothing more than to throw some light on the real problems of Rural Bengal and to indicate the possible and practicable lines of improvement in a concrete form." With certain definite limitations the purpose of the writer seems to have been realised. Rural uplift scheme launched in Sirajganj sub-division, in Pabna district, by Mr. Ishaque, attracted considerable attention in Bengal. He was reported to have formulated a comprehensive scheme after a careful survey of the condition of the rural population and their needs; and the scheme came to be thoroughly discussed at representative conferences of those interested in it. A programme of work was drawn up and to implement the scheme, rural development organisations, composed of voluntary workers only, were established all over the sub-division.

A Press Note prepared by the Press Officer, Government of Bengal, dated Calcutta, the 7th October, 1937, gave an admirable summary of the work claimed to have been accomplished by these Rural Development Organisations. The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Minister, Government of Bengal, in a Foreword to the book, describes the achievements of Mr. Ishaque and his associates as ' stupendous and magnificent.' As regards Education, Night Schools for adults, and Primary and Middle English Schools for boys and girls were established. For improving the standard of teaching, Training Camps under the supervision of qualified teachers were opened at different centres. As to agriculture, model farms were opened; the sub-division was divided into three circles and a demonstrator was appointed for each circle, to look after the farms and to guide and advise the cultivators; ten stud bulls were purchased and allotted to different localities. As to rural industries, attempts were made to revive weaving as a subsidiary occupation for agriculturists; weaving factory schools were started on co-operative basis. So far as saintation was concerned, the village organisations cleared jungles, destroyed water-hyacinth, filled up stagnant ditches, and excavated many *khals*. Nor was communication left alone; up to October, 1937, " five hundred new roads with a milage of about five hundred miles were constructed and an equal number of old and disused roads with a milage of about 350 miles " were reclaimed principally through voluntary effort. This appears to be a remarkable achievement when it is remembered

that "during a great part of the year the whole area is submerged under water." The organisers of the scheme also ran a weekly organ devoted to the service of the rural folk. "Necessary funds were raised from the villages themselves by '*musti*-collection' and by contributions from Union Boards." The scheme has not only resulted in the material benefit of the rural masses but it has also awakened in them a spirit of self-sacrifice, co-operation and self-help. Indeed the moral aspect of rural development scheme through voluntary efforts cannot be over-emphasised. People of Sirajganj have reasons to be grateful to Mr. Ishaque for his devoted service to the cause of rural uplift in the locality.

Mr. Ishaque's scheme was lucky in getting a tremendous official publicity. After all this one wonders why such an energetic officer's services were not continued permanently in the interest of rural welfare in Bengal. The author presents the reader with a confused mass of valuable material which might have been better digested for scientific treatment. He admits that he did not get 'much leisure to read.' If he had got it, the resultant knowledge would certainly have increased the value of his book. Again, one does not expect from a man of Mr. Ishaque's culture the egotistic touches which are noticeable here and there. The writer of the book is frankly suspicious of "nationalists." He forgets that the people are likewise suspicious of officials. These mutual suspicions lead us nowhere. In more than one place Mr. Ishaque pours ridicule on the "nationalists." Government officials of the Indian variety like to forget the fact that they are what they are largely because of the sufferings and efforts of these very nationalists and agitators. Printing and general get-up of the book leave very much to be desired.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Cultural Movements in Modern India.—By Ramprasad Pandeya, M.A., with a Foreword by Principal P. Seshadri, M.A. Published by Lakshminarayan Agarwal, Agra. Pp. 122. Re. 1.

It has been generally held that India in the 19th century experienced a renaissance due to contact with Western civilization and that no period in the recent history of India was ever more full of activity and growth. Pandit Ramprasad Pandeya shares this belief with enthusiasm. In this monograph he chronicles the cultural movement of India that this renaissance brought into being. He begins by giving a brief account of the historical origin of Indian civilization and its march through earlier centuries and then goes on to give brief but interesting resumés of the religious, educational, literary, political and constitutional movements, finally concluding with a peep into the future and expressing an earnest aspiration for a happier and more vitalized life for the nation. Mr. Pandeya writes with knowledge and imagination and has a lucid style. Intended as a general text-book for our college-boys, the book will serve its purpose well.

N. RAY

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending 31st July, 1938.—By Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State. Pp. 37, with 36 Plates. Rs. 2-4.

The newly constituted Department of Archaeology of the Baroda State has issued its Fourth Annual Report for the year ending 31st July, 1938. Some important conservation works were carried out; of special importance are those of the Baroda Gate, the Junāgaḍh temple at Basait, the temple at Bardia and the tomb of Sheikh Farid. The listing of monuments within the State is going on apace. Three important temples were brought to notice in the year under survey: (1) The Hiṅgloji-mātā temple at Khaṇḍorān in the Visnagi Taluka, dedicated to the Goddess Sarvamaṅgalā and furnished with an inscription dated in the year 1207 of the Vikrama era equal to 1150 A.D., (2) the second is the Śiva temple at Asoda in the Vijāpur tāluk which may stylistically be dated in about the 11th or 12th century A.D., and (3) the third is the Viṣṇu temple that stands on the top of a hillock at Māhūdi on the right bank of the Sāvarmatī. the temple going by the name of "Kotyārka." A few important finds of metallic images have been made in the compound of this temple, and they are frankly Buddhistic, including images of Jambhala or Kuvera. The village of Māhūdi has also contributed some interesting Brahmanical images, mostly Viṣṇuite. During the year under review the Director of Archaeology succeeded in securing several pieces of excellent wood-carvings for the State Museum of Baroda. Excavations during the year yielded a specially noteworthy find, namely, a clay dye bearing the legend Śrī-Śilāditya written in the late Gupta script. This dye was found from the site where a hoard of some two thousand silver coins of Kumāragupta I was unearthed the year before last. As the place is very intimately connected with the Maitrakas of Valabhi, this Śrī-Śilāditya must refer to the same king of the Maitraka genealogical list.

The plates are useful and interesting.

N. Ray

Ourselves

[I. Course in Museology.—II. Conference of Government and University Representatives.—III. Proposed Inclusion of Lushai as Vernacular for I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations.—IV. Readership Lectures on "Cosmic Ray."—V. Research Work on Papain.—VI. Indian Science Congress Association.—VII. All-India Library Conference.—VIII. D.P.H. Examination, Part I.—IX. The Asutosh Museum of Indian Art.]

I. Course in Museology

The University has decided to start from July next a certificate course in Museum Training under the auspices of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art. Extending over a period of six months, training will be given by the Curator, Mr. D. P. Ghosh, and other experts in various aspects of Museum up-keep and administration, *viz.*, stylistic discrimination, arrangement and classification, display, cataloguing and labelling, mounting and casting, cleaning and preservation. For the present provision has been made to train not more than a dozen candidates.

This is the first time in India that a move has been made by any University or institution to provide facilities for training in Museology in a regular and scientific way. Apart from the question of selecting the most significant exhibits and presenting them to the onlooker in a most attractive way, the problem of their preservation is equally important. In a country like ours where even the hardest of stone sculptures are not impervious to climatic conditions, it is almost a baffling problem to arrest forces of decay and decomposition inherent in more perishable materials. Unless adequate steps are taken a lovely piece of clay and terra-cotta will crack and crumble, a delicate textile fabric will wear out, and colours will slowly vanish from a painted masterpiece. So it will be the aim of the small research laboratory attached to the Asutosh Museum not only to preserve the priceless relics of the past and treasures of art for the enjoyment and inspiration of future generations but incidentally, to find out means of prolonging the life of objects of every-day use in our households.

II. Conference of Government and University Representatives

A conference will be held shortly to discuss the powers and functions of the District Magistrates regarding the constitution of Managing Committees of aided High Schools as well as the question of the amendment of the Grant-in-Aid rules for schools. Another subject of discussion at this conference will be the procedure to be adopted in cases of unusual delay in reporting the constitution of Managing Committees. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Dr. W. A. Jenkins, D.SC., I.E.S., and Khan Bahadur Md. Maula Baksh will represent Government at this conference and the University will be represented by the under-mentioned gentlemen :—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor,
Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., D.LITT., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.,
The University Inspector of Colleges.

* * *

III. Proposed Inclusion of Lushai as Vernacular for I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations

The question of recognising Lushai as a Vernacular for the Intermediate Examination is now under consideration by the University. The matter was first considered by the Board of Studies in Sanskritic Languages in August, 1939, and is now being once more examined in the light of a list of selected works in Lushai suitable for Intermediate Examination which has been prepared in consultation with the Honorary Inspector of Schools in the North and South Lushai Hills and the Head Master of the Shillong High School, Rev. T. E. Pugh, M.A. (Oxon.), and Principal Cameron of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta.

* * *

IV. Readership Lectures on "Cosmic Ray"

Dr. H. T. Bhaba, D.SC., has been appointed a Special University Reader to deliver a course of ten lectures on "Cosmic Ray." The dates of these lectures will be notified to the public through the Press.

V. Research Work on Papain

Our University has accepted the offer of a sum of Rs. 200 from the Eastern Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., for the purpose of meeting the cost of materials in connexion with research work on papain to be conducted under the guidance of Prof. B. C. Guha of the Department of Applied Chemistry in the University Laboratories.

* * *

VI. Indian Science Congress Association

The next session of the Indian Science Congress will be held at Benares from January 2nd to January 8th, 1941.

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VII. All-India Library Conference

The All-India Library Conference was held at Patna from 13th April to 15th April, 1940. Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.LITT., PHIL. (Leyden), DIP. LIB. (Lond.), was appointed a representative of the University on the conference.

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VIII. D.P.H. Examination, Part I

The following is the report of the Board of Examiners for the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, held in February, 1940:

"Of the 31 candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, February, 1940, 27 candidates have passed and 4 have failed."

* * *

IX. The Asutosh Museum of Indian Art

The Asutosh Museum has in the course of one year nearly trebled its collection either by purchase or by free gift from public-spirited gentlemen. Among the gifts to the Museum, undoubtedly the most noteworthy is that of Mr. Bijay Sing Nahar. He has presented almost the entire collection of his father, the late Mr.

Puran Chand Nahar which used to be known as the "Nahar Museum" valued approximately at forty thousand rupees and numbering more than 1,000 pieces of rare sculpture and paintings.

Mr. Biren Roy of Puri offered for sale his entire collection of Orissan art and antiquities known as "Roy's Museum," at a specially reduced price of Rs. 6,000 only, which the University purchased sometime ago.

The late Dr. Dineschandra Sen presented before his death his valuable personal collection of Bengali and Assamese art to the Museum, which consists of 200 articles including several remarkable old bronze figures, "Pats," "Patas," "Kanthas" and terra-cottas.

Another valuable collection acquired by the Museum at the price of Rs. 1,500 only is that of Mr. Kalidas Dutt of Majilpur. This collection has been obtained from the Sundarban area and possesses both aesthetic and antiquarian interest.

The regional exploration carried on under the auspices of the Calcutta University have brought to light many interesting specimens of the Pala and Sena Schools of Art of which the most attractive is an upright figure of Siva in bronze covered by a Dhyani Buddha belonging to the 11th century A.D., discovered in Barisal.

The excavation at Bangarh in the District of Dinajpur conducted under Mr. K. G. Goswami, M.A., of our University in winter this year has led to highly promising results. Brick structure of early periods of our history have been exposed along with pillars, wells, drains, etc. Terra-cottas, decorative bricks and architectural stones dating from the Sunga, Kushan, Gupta and Pala periods are among the other objects discovered at Bangarh. Special mention should be made of inscribed clay sealings, gold amulets and punch-marked coins which have been obtained in the course of excavation at Bangarh.

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COTTAGE INDUSTRIES AND UNEMPLOYMENT

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President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians

THE subject of this article must of necessity possess great interest for every Indian who cannot contemplate, except with feelings of very great sorrow, the difficulties under which our people are labouring.

Turning to the question of food, we find that the total production of food amounts in India to 60 to 70 million tons from which we have to deduct, apart from wastage, the quantities necessary for seed, for feeding cattle, and for export. It has been said by those who have made a special study of this matter that these items do not total less than 10 million tons. This leaves about 50 to 60 million tons for our use. In 1931 the total population of India was round about 352 millions. This means less than one pound daily per each head of population. In a speech made recently H.E. the Viceroy stated that by 1941, the population would be round about 400 millions in which case the amount of food available daily per each head of population will be a little more than half a pound.

Sir William Hunter, the Historian of Orissa and of India, who was Director of Statistics in the seventies of the last century, said at that time that in British India alone 40 million people lived and died in a state of half starvation. No one has yet challenged the correctness of this statement. The population has nearly doubled itself since that time but the production of food has not shown any appreciable increase.

Sir George Grierson, another great statistician under the Government, writing 20 years after Sir William Hunter said, " Briefly, all persons in India of the labouring class and 10 per cent of the artisan or cultivating classes or 45 per cent of the total population are insufficiently fed or housed or both. It follows that nearly 100 millions of people in British India are living in extreme poverty."

Dr. H. H. Mann, Director of Agriculture in Bombay, after 20 years' close study and investigation came in 1927 to the conclusion that " the empty stomach was the greatest obstacle to progress in India.....and that all efforts should be concentrated on filling the stomachs of the people." If he was writing to-day, he would have drawn a much darker picture, for, with the reduction in the price of agricultural products, the economic condition of the cultivators has grown worse still.

Sir John Megaw, Surgeon-General of India, estimated only the other day that 39 per cent of the population are well-nourished, leaving 61 per cent insufficiently nourished.

Improved methods of intensive cultivation will have the effect of increasing the total amount of food produced, but this will be possible only when the people adopt them which again will be possible only when they are literate. We all know that after more than 150 years of British rule, the percentage of literacy in India in 1931 was 8·1 only. It is therefore that the Congress has been laying such emphasis on the abolition of illiteracy and propaganda for improved agricultural methods. If this can be carried through to a successful issue all over India, our supply of available food may be increased and a remedy found for the present chronic state of starvation but, even then, there can be no prosperity in the economic sense so long as the masses depend on agriculture as practically the one means of their support.

This has engaged the earnest attention of National India which has spoken through its leader Mahatma Gandhi. His observations on this point are worth quoting. He said, " The bulk of the population

is agricultural and Indian agriculture involves very hard work for certain short periods and almost complete inactivity for the rest of the year. These periods of inactivity are, in the great majority of cases, spent in idleness. But where the cultivator pursues some craft which will employ him and his family at times when they are not required in the fields—a craft in which continuity of employment is not essential the proceeds of that craft are a saving from waste and therefore a clear gain. The most typical of such crafts and the one most widely pursued is the production of homespun cotton cloth for daily use." This synthesis of agriculture and industry was contrived by Mahatma Gandhi and offers a practical solution of the grinding poverty of our masses so eloquently referred to by that well-known economist Mr. Monohar Lal, at one time an executive member of the Punjab Government, who said, " It (the life of the masses) is a picture of literal starvation, mental and physical. It can represent the life of no unit."

India, like the rest of the world, is faced by the problem of unemployment. Various commissions to suggest remedies have been appointed and they have submitted very interesting and learned reports Among the remedies suggested are the following: services and industries should be Indianised, the age of retirement from Government service should be lowered, compulsory primary education should be introduced in order to absorb the educated unemployed, public works should be started on a large scale and working hours reduced. It has also been proposed that India should be industrialised and that doles should be given to the unemployed.

The one feature common to all these suggestions is that the prevalent unemployment should be met not by providing additional employment but by some contrivance which will help the unemployed at the expense of the employed. So far as the starting of public works on a large scale and the giving of doles are concerned, we should very clearly realise the fact that they have to be paid for and that money for these purposes must, at the last resort, come from taxes levied on our already impoverished motherland.

If it is argued that fresh taxes will be contrived in such a way as to touch the rich only, I would reply by saying that there are limits to the taxable capacity of even the rich and that, going beyond this limit, would merely have the effect of killing the goose that lays the golden egg. From a careful study of the Income Tax Returns

for 1932-33 it appears that out of a total population of 272 million in British India, about 564,134 persons that is about ·002 per cent of the population earned Rs. 1,000 or more per year; about 217,171 or about ·001 per cent earned less than Rs. 2,000 per year while only 355 people in the whole of India had incomes of rupees one lakh and more. These figures, the accuracy of which has not been challenged from any quarter, are sufficient proof of our low taxable capacity. No reasonable man can hope that much may be expected by taxing the comparatively well-off in our motherland.

As the number of the taxable well-off is limited, it inevitably follows that there cannot be any permanent and satisfactory solution of this pressing problem by depending on this source to finance public works or the giving of doles on a very large scale which only can remove the universal poverty from which India is suffering.

A suggestion put forward time and again is that industrialisation on a large scale along western lines will solve the unemployment problem. I admit freely that, under modern conditions, no sane man can dream of doing without large scale production concerned with the manufacture of the heavy chemicals, of steel and iron and other primary needs of civilised life. But let no one be misled into thinking that, necessary as these factories are for economic self-sufficiency, they will either abolish or even materially diminish unemployment. If that were so, we would not have unemployment on the gigantic scale we see in such highly industrialised and progressive countries as England and America.

Another suggestion is that the standard of living of the masses should be materially raised. It is held that if the wants of the people are increased, there will be a greater demand for all kinds of articles. This must encourage their production and distribution and thus automatically increase the volume of employment. The criticism which suggests itself first is that a higher standard of living presupposes higher income and where is this income to come from in a country where according to the latest estimate the annual *per capita* income is not more than Rs. 50? Our real difficulty is that, as a nation, we cannot afford even a sufficient amount of food for every one of the 400 millions of India. I do not claim to be an economist but it seems to me that any increase in the income should in the first instance be utilised for providing a sufficiency of the bare necessaries of life such as food and clothing after which will follow comforts.

There is a still more serious objection to this particular way of solving the problem. Capitalism as a satisfactory economic system is slowly losing its hold on the world. It has had its days of usefulness and to-day we are trying to find out a better and more satisfactory economic system. As in the west, the conflict between capital and labour, whether agricultural or industrial, has already made its appearance in India and it cannot be said with justice that in all cases this conflict is being waged in an unobjectionable way. Supposing that we are able to raise the standard of living of our labourers, its logical result will be that with increased wants, his bargaining power will be reduced. He will be in a less favourable position to either refuse to work or to go on strikes. He will be tied down more firmly than now to his job. I would even go so far as to suggest that this is a device adopted, may be unconsciously, by capitalism to ensure the creation of a docile and permanent labour farce.

Raising the standard of life for the purpose of relieving unemployment by providing fresh avenues of work implies the finding out of new markets or of extending old ones. When we find Italy pocketing Abyssinia and Japan attempting to take China, we have examples of unscrupulous and powerful nations trying to find new markets for their products. Forgetting, for the time being, the injustice and the cruelty involved in such procedure, what we are concerned with is that, if successful, though labour is helped by being provided with work, it is the capitalist who enjoys the most substantial gain. So far as we in India are concerned, we are not in a position to create new markets in this way and I question very much whether India, unless her contact with the predatory nations of the West has radically changed her mentality, would ever dream of doing so. By the second method which I have called extending old markets, I mean the consumption of larger amounts of articles already in use and also of articles not now in use. As stated already, our problem, to quote again the language of Dr. Mann who retired after more than 20 years' service in West India, is that " the empty stomach is the greatest obstacle to progress in India . . . and that all efforts should be concentrated on filling the stomachs of the people."

It therefore follows that if we are to solve our problem of unemployment in this particular way, we have to see that the goods consumed by us are also produced by us. If the adoption of a higher standard of living implies the consumption of articles of comfort and

luxury, it is not we who shall be benefited but those concerned in their production and distribution. Let me make my point clear by an example which must be familiar to every Indian. Before we imported cotton stuff from Lancashire, there was ample work for all our weavers. Now what has happened is that not all our weavers find employment though the population and, along with it, the demand for cloth have gone up. As the result of wearing fine cotton fabrics in place of coarse home-spun, which by the way is an instance of a rise in the standard of living, Lancashire may now boast of a few millionaires. The standard of life of the Lancashire operative has gone up but at our expense. Ample proof is afforded by the broadcast of Winston Churchill who is reported to have said, "My friends, to whom I speak—the working men—let me tell you that India has quite a lot to do with the wage-earners of Great-Britain. If we lost India it would not be a hundered thousand unemployed ; it would be more like two million bread-winners, who would be tramping the streets. We have in this island, forty-five millions living at a higher level than the people of any other country. One-third of these would have to go down, out, or under, if we ceased to be a great Empire with world-wide connection and trade. That would be the fate of the larger population of Little England."

I have given only one instance of the result of the use of imported articles but many such may be multiplied easily. We have looked on helplessly while handicraft after handicraft has died a natural death. Those following these handicrafts have been compelled to take to agriculture as a means of earning their living and the pressure on land is such that we are faced with the grim spectre of chronic starvation. It was not an Indian but a European who observed that in India there are two bowls of rice for every three individuals.

It therefore follows that every time we buy an imported article, we are exporting our purchasing power, and helping in raising the standard of living of the citizen of some other country and, to that extent, lowering our own standards and assisting in creating further unemployment. It is also a truth, probably a disagreeable truth, that the factory system of production where the work of many hands can be and is performed by a few hands is also responsible for our wide-spread unemployment. This is the only logical argument and the rational justification for the drive to use Swadeshi or home-made articles and, more than that, of comparatively expensive hand-made

articles produced in the rural areas in preference to cheaper Indian factory-made articles with better finish. I acknowledge that this is, from the selfish point of view, loss of money, but the very hard and disagreeable fact of starvation of millions of our countrymen and country-women on account of want of employment stares us in the face. We cannot afford to neglect their interests as we have been doing in the past. We have a responsibility as leaders of thought and have to set an example in our daily lives. Empty promises have been made so often that we have forfeited the confidence of the masses and the only way to regain it is to prove our concern for them by taking effective steps to assist them. One of the best ways of doing this, I contend, is to use extensively the products of cottage industries.

So long I have not given any facts in support of my contention that cottage industries, if properly organised, are a valuable method of combating unemployment. I shall now refer to what has been actually done last year by the All-India Spinners' Association. As is well-known this organisation, with its headquarters at Ahmedabad and branches in every part of India, has undertaken the task of having certified and registered spinners, weavers and artisans all engaged in the production of pure khadi. Last year, this organisation gave regular employment to 2 lakhs 82 thousand spinners who drew as wages Rs. 21 lakhs 55 thousand. The number of certified and registered weavers who were in regular employment was about 19 thousand while the wages drawn by them was about Rs. 12 lakhs. Certified and registered artisans numbered 6 thousand 8 hundred, their wages amounting to Rs. 5 lakhs 65 thousand. Therefore the total number of certified and registered workers employed by this one association only was 3 lakhs 8 thousand and these earned as wages Rs. 39 lakhs 20 thousand. According to the League of Nations, the *per capita* allowance of cloth should not be less than 30 square yards. In India our average consumption is round about 11·3 square yards. These figures are sufficient to prove what a future there is for the khaddar programme of Mahatma Gandhi.

Before I leave this point, I ought to remind my readers that the 3 lakhs 8 thousand workers employed by the All-India Spinners' Association are a part only of those engaged in the manufacture of khaddar. There are many organisations, businessmen, etc., having no connection with this body engaged in making and selling khaddar. I shall only content myself with saying that all people employed both

by the All-India Spinners' Association and by the other organisations would not have found employment but for the impetus given to the movement by our great national leader. After this, who will say that cottage industries are not at least a partial solution of the problem of unemployment ? They may not offer handsome amounts to those who follow them but there is little doubt that, if pursued honestly and steadfastly, they can yield a regular and humble income and that is all that can be expected in a poor country like India where the national income, as already proved, is not more than Rs. 50 per head per year.

Every serious student of industrial economics is aware that today India is in a position to manufacture all her sugar and match, three-fourths of her cotton stuff, two-thirds of her iron and steel and a large part of her cement and paper and yet she is unable to find employment for more than about 1½ million factory workers. When she has developed her industries sufficiently, she may be able to employ, say, 2 million labourers.

According to the last Census that for 1931, out of a total population of about 352 millions, about 15½ millions were supported by industry. Of these again, only 1½ millions were engaged in 8,143 factories. It thus follows that in 1931 about 14 millions were supported by cottage industries. In 1935, the number of factories had increased by about 700 but the average number of persons employed had increased to the extent of 180,000 only. The mere increase of factory industries therefore cannot and will not absorb all the people who are without work. We would be perfectly safe if we go further and say that in case factories are started for the large scale production of articles which are now being manufactured at home, such factories will never be able to absorb even those who are at present engaged in producing them.

According to recognised authorities, weaving on the handloom stands next to agriculture as regards the number of people who are supported by it and provides occupation for no less than 10 million in India. There was a time when their products had to compete with cotton fabrics manufactured in non-Indian countries only. Of late, the number of cotton mills in India has increased from 250 in 1929-30 to 304 in 1935-36, the latest year for which statistics are available. These give employment to about 4½ lakhs of workers only. When in future India finds herself able to produce all the cotton cloth she

requires in her own mills, she cannot very well give employment to more than an additional lakh and a half or, at most, to two lakhs. Even if every one of the labourers is drawn from the present handloom weavers, it is disquieting to think of the fate of the rest who, if our figures are correct, cannot by any means be less than 7 to 8 millions on the supposition that at least one million among them are engaged in the production of silk, woollen and similar other stuff.

We have thus proved that the slavish imitation of western industrial methods must lead to one result only, *viz.*, large output coupled with the employment of constantly diminishing numbers of labourers with every improvement in that type of industrial efficiency which goes under the name of rationalisation.

Mahatma Gandhi with his insight into the real nature of this vital problem recognised the fact that handloom weaving is followed by a very large number of people who cannot command much capital. At the same time he felt that they had to be provided for somehow not only in order to diminish unemployment but also to diminish the pressure on land. Hence his khaddar programme.

Hitherto reference has been made only to the kind of cottage industry connected with the production of cotton fabrics. But every one familiar with conditions prevailing in rural India is aware that the handicrafts practised even now are nearly as numerous as they were a century ago, the only difficulty being due to competition with factory-made articles. Our artisans are not getting remunerative prices for them. As natural consequence, these are languishing and may ultimately disappear altogether. As proved by the figures quoted already, India is not in a position to allow this. If once cheap power is made available in every part of India, and it may be said parenthetically that efforts to this end are being put forth in nearly every province, it would not be difficult to organise the different cottage industries on improved lines with the help of electrically powered small machines. By doing so the cost of production would be diminished and at the same time the finish improved so that they would be able to compete with their factory-made rivals on equal terms. But it is too much to expect that, at least at the beginning, they can be marketed as cheaply as the products of large factories.

We know that modern rice and flour mills and oil-crushing factories have nearly killed the age-old cottage industries of wheat and rice-milling and oil-crushing added to which is the fact that the white

flour and polished rice produced by them are deprived of certain essential vitamins and mineral salts. All these are adulterated by either unscrupulous mill-owners or the middlemen who stand between the producers and the actual consumers. I have described elsewhere how this problem is being tackled by the All-India Village Industries Association.

Then again, our village blacksmiths used to supply all our requirements in the way of agricultural implements such as spades, pick-axes, crow-bars, hammers, etc., but competition from foreign and Indian firms that have specialised in their manufacture on the factory scale has driven them off the field. These people have taken to agriculture not as cultivators enjoying some kind of right over the land they cultivate but either as tenants-at-will or as landless labourers. I quite appreciate the fact that before the home-made implements can hope to command a large market which will include such large buyers as the Railway, the Public Works and other Government Departments, District Boards, Municipalities, etc., they will have to be standardised, and improved methods and probably machinery used for their manufacture. But this, in my view, does not present insurmountable difficulties.

Certain kinds of cotton, silk and even woollen textiles may be classed under cottage industries and given protection by legislation against mass production by large-scale factories till they are sufficiently developed. If we insist on protection in order to foster the development of industries like iron, textile and sugar, National India finds no reason why cottage industries should not claim protection not only against foreign but also against internal competition from large scale Indian factories.

The question is what form should this protection take in order to discourage competition from Indian and foreign factories. A method which suggests itself immediately is to put some kind of duty or sales tax on the corresponding products of factories and a similar or even a higher amount of custom duty on foreign imports. For instance, it has been suggested that the mills should cater for the well-to-do who use coats, shirts, fine sarees, dhoties and chaddars while the handloom would meet the requirements of poorer people who prefer the coarser varieties of cotton fabrics for their durability. The latter should find a ready market in the rural areas. Mills should not be allowed to use counts below 20. A deterrent sales tax on mill

cloth and high license fee should be imposed on dealers in mill cloth for the purpose of making selling mill-made cotton fabrics unremunerative in the country-side. The situation could probably be met by providing handloom weavers with credit and marketing facilities on equitable terms. Similarly the products of flour, rice and oil mills may have a suitable sales tax laid on them for the encouragement of chakki atta, hand-pounded rice and ghani-oil.

As matters stand at present, I do not see much prospect of the survival of a large majority of our cottage industries unless they are afforded some kind of protection and unless the right kind of organisation is created for ensuring a steady market for their products.

The justification for the adoption of this policy is two-fold. First and foremost, their proper organisation would tend to give regular employment to some of our people while others will be able to utilise profitably the enforced leisure they have now to put up with as agriculturists. So far as the latter are concerned, some of these industries would bring in cash while others like spinning and weaving would enable them to conserve their resources by preventing expenditure on items like clothing.

As for those who will devote their whole time to cottage industries, it has been estimated by no less a person than the Congress Minister of Development of Bihar that if only a dozen cottage industries are started on a province-wide scale under conditions such as those outlined above, they could easily employ 75,000 to 100,000 people. If we add to this number, the people who will supply the raw materials required in the different cottage industries, it is quite likely that another lakh or so will be provided for. Counting their families and dependents such a scheme, if successfully carried out, would imply livelihood provided for at least 5 lakhs and, it should be remembered, that all these people will be drawn from the masses. So far as the more educated people are concerned, we have not taken into account the managers, supervisors, brokers, salesmen and similar other people always connected with the production and sale of such things.

Apart from the employment of people who are now eking out a miserable existence there are certain other important contingent advantages which must not be lost sight of. There will be an increase in the national income. With an increase in the purchasing power, the standard of living which is now miserably low will tend to rise. The starting of these industries will lead to the development

of the resources which are now lying unexplored and unused. They will have the effect of developing the spirit of enterprise, of familiarising our people with modern conditions of life, with new processes and new methods, will give them a wider outlook on life and will open out before them new ways of improving their economic position. In fact, they will tend to communicate the spark of life to the half-starved and intellectually stolid agriculturist of India. This one fact alone of shaking them out of the mental inertia of ages seems to me a sufficient justification for the adoption of this bold and forward policy of encouraging and maintaining our cottage industries.

In August and September, 1938, Madam Chiang Kai-Shek, the brilliant and patriotic helpmate of the Chinese generalissimo, contributed a series of very thought-provoking and interesting articles to the "Spectator" of London. In the course of a discussion on the reconstruction of China after the present war is over, she observed :—

"I should like to see village industry carefully developed wherever it is possible for raw materials to be produced and worked up to supply the daily needs of the people. There will have to be mechanical aid in some cases, but I hope that machinery never will be brought to China to save labour as its first principle and requirement. Machinery should be used to make necessaries which hand cannot make, but there it should stop. Nor should cut-throat competition in manufacture be permitted. In that the workmen suffer.

"We have already had a taste of competitive manufacture and we have had a few lessons taught us by the racketteer, the gangster, the misguided labour agitator and his misused unions. Surely we shall be wise enough to profit by all that, and also profit by what has happened in other parts of the world as a result of over-production by labour-saving devices operating upon a large and uncontrolled scale. We have an old proverb which enjoins us to 'take warning by the cart ahead'. It will be criminal of us if we do not. If we emerge safely from the calamities of this war there is one brake that will be put upon us that should have restraining influence upon development of too many large industries. That is the brake of exhausted finance. It will not be easy to plunge into great schemes of factory development and that, to my mind, is a good thing. There is so much to be done by hand, so many hands to do it, that wisdom dictates energetic arrangement of opportunities and possibilities for manual work just as quickly as circumstances will allow."

Up to the present India has been fortunate inasmuch as she is yet safe from war. Let it not be said that, like China, where "there is so much to do by hand and so many hands to do," we needed war in order to learn the very important and essential lesson that our primary attention should be devoted to the encouragement and development of our cottage industries for in spite of whatever capitalist economists may say to the contrary, the political and economic regeneration of our country will be very largely helped by the adoption of this policy. And that is why I am an advocate for the protection of indigenous cottage industries which I regard as the only satisfactory way of assisting in their development and of combating unemployment.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM IN EDUCATION*

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THE EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTION OF THE SWADESHI PERIOD

PROGRESS is not a thing about which one can say: "Thus far and no further." Educational progress, accordingly knows of no last term or finality. The ultimate synthesis or absolute of which certain philosophies in East and West talk *ad nauseam* is the greatest unreality conceivable in human affairs. Discontent, disharmony, disequilibrium and so forth in matters educational as in other spheres have to be accepted as the eternal and universal items in the individual *psyche* as well as in inter-human or societal relations. Every so-called synthesis is in reality a condition of conflict or disequilibrium. And virtually in every instance this disequilibrium is creative and evocative of fresh values and new orientations, in other words, essentially evolutive. Not to be prepared for such evolutive discontent or creative disequilibrium should be treated as the worst disqualification for educational statesmanship or cultural patriotism, nay, for political leadership and social pioneering.

An epoch-making educational revolution was associated in Bengal with the glorious *Swadeshi* movement of 1905-14. it was embodied in the National Council of Education, which is to-day represented chiefly by the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, near Calcutta. In that *milieu* I formulated through my *Siksha-Vijnan* (Science of Education) Series an "Educational Creed" (*Sikshanushasana*) in ten articles[1] for my use as well as for that of my colleagues in connection with the eleven or twelve "National Schools" established in the Districts of Malda and Dacca.[1] None of the several dozen

* Presidential Address at the Twenty-four Parganas District Teachers' Conference held at Barrackpore in February, 1940.

[1] B. K. Sarkar: *Introduction to the Science of Education* (London, 1913, second edition, Madras 1930); *Siksha-Sopan* (Steps to a University): A Course of Modern Intellectual Culture adapted to the Requirements of Bengal (Calcutta, 1912).

schools of the National Council system are in existence to-day. But the experiments attempted by those schools have influenced our social life in no small measure. What is significant is that some of the most prominent ideals and dreams of that system have been later incorporated and factually done into life to a considerable extent in the educational institutions run by the Government of Bengal and controlled by the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca.

The *Sikshanushasana* was published first in Bengali and then in English, Hindi and Marathi in 1910. This creed is being reproduced below:

I. General

1. Aim and criterion of education twofold: the pupil must grow up to be (*i*) intellectually, a discoverer of truths and a pioneer of learning; (*ii*) morally, an organizer of institutions and a leader of men.

2. Moral training to be imparted not through lessons culled from moral and religious text-books, but through arrangements by which the student is actually made to develop habits of self-sacrifice and devotion to the interests of others by undertaking the work of philanthropy and social service.

3. To build up character and determine the aim or mission of life, (*i*) the "design," plan, and personal responsibility of a single guide-philosopher-friend, and (*ii*) the control of the whole life and career of the student are indispensable. These circumstances provide the pre-condition for true spiritual education.

4. Educational institutions and movements must not be made planks in political, industrial, social or religious agitations and propagandas, but controlled and governed by the science of education based on the rational grounds of sociology.

II. Tutorial

1. Even the most elementary course must have a multiplicity of subjects with due inter-relation and co-ordination. Up to a certain stage the training must be encyclopaedic and as comprehensive as possible.

2. The mother-tongue must be the medium of instruction in all subjects and through all standards. And if in India the provincial languages are really inadequate and poor, the educationist must make

it a point to develop and enrich them within the shortest possible time by a system of patronage and endowments on the "protective principle."

3. The sentence, not word, must be the basis of language-training, whether in inflexional or analytical tongues, even in Sanskrit; and the Inductive Method of proceeding from the known to the unknown, concrete to the abstract, facts and phenomena to general principles, is to be the tutorial method in all branches of learning.

4. Two foreign languages besides English and at least two provincial vernaculars must be made compulsory for all higher culture in India.

III. Organisational

1. Examinations must be daily. The day's work must be furnished and tested during the day. And terms of academic life as well as the system of giving credit should be not by years or months but according to subjects or portions of subjects studied. Steady and constant discipline, both intellectual and moral, is possible only under these conditions.

2. The laboratory and environment of student life must be the whole world of men and things. The day's routine must therefore provide opportunities for self-sacrifice, devotion, recreations, physical culture, sports, excursions, etc., as well as pure intellectual work. There should consequently be no long holidays or periodical vacations except when necessitated by pedagogic interests.

The impacts of the "ideas of 1905" and especially of the "national education movement" on Bengali culture and pedagogics are too obvious to be overlooked.[2] In the first place, Bengali is today not a mere second language. It has become the official medium of instruction in all the subjects taught in the entire school system of Bengal. An educational war-cry of the *Swadeshi* revolution has thus been rendered into positive law. Secondly, the encyclopaedic scientific training for all the classes of a Matric. school on which the "national education movement" placed the greatest emphasis has

[2] See the *Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine* (Calcutta, 1903-1910); edited by Satischandra Mukerjee, and the Reports of the National Council of Education, Bengal (1906-1910). See also B. K. Sarkar: *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 611-643; (Education and Research in Science), and *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (second edition, Calcutta, 1939), pp. 82, 305, 326.

been accepted at last by the authorities as the programme for all the schools in the country. Then again, it may be observed, incidentally, that the prosecution of independent researches and original investigations in Indian history and culture on the one hand and in the modern exact sciences on the other was one of the fundamental objectives of the National Council. The entire world of scholarship in Eur-America, Asia and Africa today is aware that this objective of the pioneers of 1905 has not remained a pious wish of a few dreamers and visionaries in Bengal but has been realized in a thoroughly palpable manner throughout the length and breadth of India during the last quarter of a century or so.

The New Social Forces

But if in 1940 I were to start again on a career of educational propaganda and pedagogic patriotism it would not do to depend exclusively on those ideas. Nor is it necessary for me to reproduce *in toto* all the ten articles of my Educational Creed of the *Swadeshi* period. The effective advances of Bengal, nay, of all India in education and culture as in politics, economic development and social life have rendered some of those articles superfluous or rather first postulates of the pedagogic apparatus. That creed has to be remade and adjusted to the novel psycho-social pattern or *Gestalt*. Indeed, a somewhat new educational creed requires to be constructed in consonance with the new conditions of life obtaining today. It is on this new creed that the next step in our educational progress will depend.

Several noticeable features of the present social and cultural atmosphere may be singled out. In the first place, the government of the country has come into the hands of the people to no negligible extent. In other words, freedom-in-democracy or democracy-in-freedom is already a part of the people's experiences. The situation which inspired Bengali patriots and educational statesmen during the *Swadeshi* period to embark on establishing schools and colleges independent of Government or University control hardly exists at the present moment. Without much pricks of conscience it should not be unreasonable to declare that practically every school and college in Bengal today that is administered by the Government or submits to the supervision and control of the Universities, is more or less a " national institution " as understood by the *Swadeshi* revolutionists

In regard to this item of Government *vs.* People we must, however, observe as in regard to other items of human progress:

"I have climbed a height indeed,
But, alas, the highest is yet to come."

In other words, higher doses of freedom and democracy are to be found in our present demand-sheet. All the same, the patriotism of establishing schools and colleges independent of the Government or the Universities is not likely to flourish on a mentionable scale in the atmosphere of 1940. This consummation,—the swarajification of Government,—partial and halting although, is indeed a tremendous justification of the Bengali nationalistic movements of a generation ago.

In the second place, industrialization and technocracy with which the Bengali *Swadeshi* movement was identified in its economic aspects have made advances in Bengal as elsewhere in India during the last generation.[3] Factories, banks, insurance companies, export-import houses and so forth are to be counted among the Bengali enterprises of to-day. Equally noteworthy are the new agricultural methods, the renovated varieties of rice, wheat, sugarcane, etc., and the expansion of industrial crops throughout India. Roads, railways and irrigation works have also felt the urge for expansion and improvement. All this has succeeded in improving to a certain extent the economic condition of the people. New careers and avenues to employment have not failed to make their appearance. The standard of living, health and efficiency has been somewhat rising not only among the middle classes but among peasants and industrial workers as well. These indices of progress in the material line, however slight they be, have justified the activities of the Bengali revolution of 1905-14. That revolution aimed, be it recalled, first, at the assimilation of modern machinery, tools and implements, and secondly at large-scale and intimate contacts with the industrial powers like Japan, U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany and France, both in business concerns and institutions of technical learning.

Thirdly, it is worth while to note that during the first decade or two of the present century Bengali culture, especially in its modern aspects, was in the main man-made. The evolution of the *Swadeshi*

[3] B. K. Sarkar: *Economic Development*, 2 Vols. (Madras and Calcutta, second edition 1938.)

movement has in its natural course engendered the class-consciousness of creative woman, both Hindu and Mussalman. Today the civilization of modern Bengal is marked by gradually increasing doses of constructive feminism. The Bengali woman, indeed the entire womanhood of India, is at present in evidence as much in social service and politics, as in journalism, fine-arts, sports, education and what not. The schools, the colleges and the Universities have therefore been adapting themselves more and more to the requirements of girls and young women. The social transformation implied in this impact of the female sex on the culture of Young Bengal constitutes a fundamental *differentium* between 1940 and 1905-14. And this bids fair to grow in intensity, variety and quantity as a social force. The alleged functional distinction between man and woman is going to be a thing of the past in Bengal and in the rest of India as in other parts of the modern world. Occupational equality between the sexes, *i.e.*, the masculinization of woman in the vocations of life is tending to become a reality of Bengal's as of the entire world's societal structure.

Last but not the least is to be mentioned the self-conscious manhood of the peasants in the villages on the one hand as of the workingmen in the industrial areas on the other. The "ideas of 1905" were hardly cognisant of the peasant and the working classes. It is chiefly during the last two decades that the economic, political and cultural requirements and demands of these two classes have forced themselves upon the Bengali (and all-Indian) *Swadeshi* revolution. Very little, however, has yet been accomplished in order to meet the wants of these two classes. But no planning of any sort in India today and tomorrow can be of any worth which fails to respond adequately to the cry from these newly awakened masses. Bengali culture cannot any longer be treated as the culture exclusively of the Bengali intellectual, *bhadralok* or other bourgeois-minded classes. For, Bengal has already been growing into the fatherland of the teeming millions comprising as they do the peasants and the industrial proletariat.[4]

These four sets of social forces in the Bengali as in the All-Indian culture-complex call for a fresh re-making of educational visions. Situated as we are in 1940 we cannot but indulge in a profound discontent and engender a disequilibrium in our educational and

[4] P. K. Mukherjee : *Labour Legislation in British India* (Calcutta, second edition, 1939); B. K. Sarkar : *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936).

cultural perspectives, in our socio-economic relations and in political norms. The cry for more freedom, more democracy, more socialism, more sex-equality, more technocracy, more industrialization, more careers, more food, more health, more culture—no matter under what slogans—has got to be embodied in new educational creeds.

The Re-making of the Educational Creed

Some amount of political freedom or democracy, be it stressed, has already been achieved. Industrialization and technocratic modernization have also been consummated to a certain extent. Feminism and equalization between the sexes is likewise somewhat of a social reality. No less noteworthy is the emergence of peasants and workingmen as self-conscious social forces. It is on the platform of these achievements and consummations,—howsoever elementary and small,—that the educational creed will have to be re-made. Creative disequilibrium is called upon today to forge a new educational creed furnished with its novel orientations and urges. An educational creed such as may somewhat satisfy the new *élan de la vie* and stimulate the present socio-cultural *Gestalt* is being formulated in the following statement in twelve articles, which is to be taken not as an alternative but as a supplement to the *Sikshanushasana* of the *Swadeshi* period.

I. *Re.* Students

1. The Health Examination of boys and girls ought to be one of the functions of every educational institution. The Department of public Health will have to co-operate with the school authorities in the matter of providing for the doctors and dentists and their clinics.

2. Physical Exercise and Military Training will have to be provided for in every school for boys or girls. A full-time instructor for these subjects as well as a well-equipped gymnasium are to be treated as indispensable necessities at each institution. The Municipalities and Union Boards ought to be interested in the maintenance of this department of the schools in their respective jurisdictions.

3. Training in Tools and Implements adapted to the local arts and crafts, old and new, including farming, as well as to the domestic requirements is to be imparted to both boys and girls without distinction of caste, creed or parental occupation and income. The provision

of a competent teacher of tools as well as a workshop at each school should be one of the charges on the budgets of the local business houses, industrial establishments, banking institutions, etc. The Industries Department of the Government ought also to be interested in this item.

4. Tiffin ought to be supplied to boys and girls by every school. A small fee may be charged if and when necessary.

II. *Re.* Teaching Staff

1. Minimum Wage principles ought to be adopted at every school in regard to the payments for the teaching staff. The salaries will have to be constantly adjusted to the local prices and rents.

2. Shorter Hours should be regarded as indispensable for teachers in the interest of their teaching efficiency as well as physical strength and health.

3. Decent Conditions of work ought to be promoted in the school atmosphere. The rights and obligations of the different members of the teaching staff *vis-à-vis* one another as well as *vis-à-vis* the members of the governing bodies should be definitely laid down and normally acted upon in the daily round of duties.

4. Trade Unions of industrial workers should be the models in spirit to be followed by the teachers' associations with a view to the realization of the above and other objects in a smooth and systematic manner.

III. *Re.* Society

1. The Social Service rendered by teaching (primary, secondary, collegiate or university) as a function, vocation, calling or profession is neither higher nor lower than that by cultivation, cooking, unskilled or skilled work in plantations, mines or factories, fine arts, literary activities, scientific research, journalism, legal or medical practice, clerical labour, and public administration or other liberal services, high or low.

2. Educational conscription should be enforced by every collegian —male or female,—as a moral discipline upon himself or herself. This should take the form of at least one year's service to the cause of primary education for boys and girls in one's neighbourhood. The success of Bengal's campaign against illiteracy or movement for adult

education will depend substantially on this kind of self-denying ordinance and constructive patriotism.

3. Industrial and Commercial Establishments ought to reserve some *Ishwar-Vritti* (gifts to God) in their regular budgets in order to help forward the school funds for laboratory, workshop, museum, radio, film, excursions, etc. The scholars turned out of the schools are the future workingmen, engineers, clerks, etc., of these business houses. In the interest of their own efficiency industrial and commercial establishments should therefore make it a point to render financial support to the educational institutions especially in their departments of tools, implements and apparatus.

4. The Government's Health, Industry and Finance Departments will have to co-operate substantially with the Education Department and the Universities in regard to the co-ordination and rationalization of the country's educational welfare, comprising as it ultimately must, the scheme of universal free education. It is already too late in the day for the Government Departments to plead the paucity of funds whenever this problem of the vital interests of the teeming millions comes up for consideration. They will be compelled more and more to recognize that the very first charge on the public finances is just the education, health and efficiency services for these millions before which all other items of public administration ought to retire into the background.

The new Educational Creed will have to equip the masses and classes of Bengal for greater freedom and democracy. It ought to be conducive to the promotion of industrialization and technocracy on a much more extensive scale than at present available. Larger doses of equality between the sexes as regards vocation and legal rights are to be among the objectives of this reconstructed creed. And finally, this educational planning should be capable of expanding the effective power and augmenting the material and cultural happiness of the peasants and the workers. These are the fundamental considerations in the sociology of the next step in India's educational advance.

Self-direction *vs.* State Initiative

It has been observed before that some doses of freedom and democracy are being enjoyed by the people. The government of the country has become the people's affair in certain proportions. The socio-political pattern of India has been moving peopleward. This is

a desirable consummation both from the educational and other standpoints.

But I am not one of those who would like to depend for every item in a planning, economic, cultural, pedagogic or otherwise, exclusively or preponderantly upon state initiative or state control.[5] Those, however, who believe in *étatisme*, *i.e.*, in appealing to the state or utilizing the state machinery in season and out of season are at liberty to do so.

To me the basic foundation of freedom, democracy and socialism, in education and culture as in politics, is self-help, self-direction, individual initiative and individual creativeness. Creative individualism is the life-blood of my man as a moral agent. In regard to the new educational creed promulgated today, therefore, as in regard to the old of a generation ago I call upon everybody who is anybody in the country not to look to state aid in the first instance or in the second instance, but to energize independently and strive individually as often and as long as possible without support from the governmental authorities.

It is chiefly in individual exertions and independent strivings that the bed-rock of moral and spiritual values like education, freedom, democracy, or socialism can be firmly established. For all pedagogic patriots, *i.e.*, self-sacrificing workers in the field of educational advance, then, my watchword for quite a long time is to be: "Struggle forward, individually by all means, collectively if possible, through hindrances, difficulties, failures, and disappointments." Today, as in 1905, Bengal wants once again "Pioneers, O Pioneers!" —to develop whose preparatory reform activities the state may be induced subsequently to exercise its final rôle.

[5] S. C. Dutt: *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934).

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CENTRAL BANKING AND THEIR LESSONS FOR INDIA—II

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IV

ANOTHER significant trend to be observed in recent Central Banking legislation is the extensive authorisation of Central Banks to undertake open market operations. In the pre-war days, it is well known, the Bank of England engaged in few operations which can be termed "open-market" to-day. Open market operations in the modern sense were practically unknown. The practice of "selling consols spot and buying for the account" was never very frequent and was hardly an important addition to the Banks' armoury. The Reichsbank of Germany was the only other Central Bank which undertook operations bearing resemblance to the modern open market operations. Although the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 had permitted open market operations, yet they came to be developed as a systematic policy only since 1923. It was only in the post-war years that open market operations came to assume their significance and the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve System began to place greater reliance upon this particular method of credit control. In the Continent the scope of open market operations was considerably restricted even in the post-war years and the French observers did not hesitate to describe such operations as an "Anglo-Saxon vice."[1] Indeed a large number of the older Central Banks were still prohibited by law from undertaking open market purchases and sales of Government bonds, treasury bills and similar securities for their own account. The Central Banks in Holland, Norway, Belgium, France and Germany were notable instances in point. In the post-depression years the statutes of several old Central Banks were modified so as to

[1] Parker Willis: *The Theory and Practice of Central Banking with particular reference to the Federal Reserve System.*

enable them to engage in open market operations while in the case of the newly established Central Banks provisions were made in their statutes in many cases for powers to undertake such operations.

It is only in recent years that the question of open market operations as a method of credit control has been receiving attention in countries outside England and the United States. The Reichsbank of Germany was the first among the older Central Banks to be endowed with the power of open market operations.[1] In October, 1933, it was authorised to buy and sell certain specified securities. Though purchase and sale of bank acceptances had been included under the discount business of the Bank and had been a part of its regular business, purchase and sale of Government bonds was denied to it as a control device because such transactions were definitely restricted under the charter of 1924.[1] It was not permitted to purchase Government bonds on its own account ; it could purchase a limited amount for the investment of its pension funds. But this amount was too small to be of any significance. The purchase of Reich short-term treasury bills had also been prohibited by the same charter. By an amendment of the charter in 1926, the Reichsbank was permitted to discount, buy and sell such bills of not more than three months, currency up to the amount of 400 million RM.; but the Reichsbank made no use of this privilege until 1928. At any rate the total amount of short-term treasury bills permitted was too small relatively to the total amount of money outstanding to be of any use for quantitative control of the money market. Deprived of its major prop, *viz.*, open market operations, the discount policy of the Reichsbank became in its hands a blunt and inefficient weapon of credit control.[2] The new Law of the Reichsbank promulgated on June 15, 1939, has definitely envisaged open market policy as an instrument of central banking control for it has empowered the Reichsbank to buy and sell, in order to regulate the money market, fixed interest-bearing securities which are admitted to official trading on the stock exchanges as well as treasury bills which are due within one year from the date of purchase.[3] By an amendment to its statutes on February 6, 1935, the Bank of Poland was authorised to buy for its own account public securities

[1] Northrop : *Contral Policies of the Reichsbank*, p. 35.
[2] Northrop : *Contral Policies of the Reichsbank*, pp. 268 69.
[3] Sec. 13 (1) Reichsbank Law of June 15, 1939, *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, September, 1939, p. 738.

and mortgage bonds quoted on the Warsaw stock Exchange up to 150 million zl.[1] By an amendment to the statutes in 1939, the maximum was raised to 200 million.[2] By a law of 30th June, 1936, the Norges Bank (Norway) was empowered to carry on open market operations. Under the provisions of the Law of 22nd February, 1937, the Nederlandsche Bank was given the power to engage in open market operations. The operations were to consist in the buying and selling of bills accepted by banks or bankers established within the Netherlands and of treasury bills, the latter to be bought from third parties. The Swedish Law of March, 1937, authorised the Riksbank to undertake open market operations by stipulating that the Riksbank might obtain short-term Government securities from the National Debt office with a view to selling them in order to withdraw surplus funds from the market.[3] When the statutes of the Belgium National Bank were reformed by the Royal decree of July 23, 1937, the Bank was authorised to engage in open market operations so that it might fulfil its function as a regulator of the market. The technique was new to the market and certain precautions were taken so that it might not be diverted from its legitimate money market purposes. Thus the maximum amount of short-term and medium securities that the Bank might buy was fixed at 500 million B francs, the total value of such bills not to exceed 200 million B francs for more than 12 consecutive months ; that of long-term Government securities was fixed at 1,000 million B francs, the securities having been issued at least two years before and quoted on the Bourse. In addition to the securities which may be purchased by way of open market policy and in addition to those which are held by Law of December 27, 1930 and July 19, 1932, the Bank may buy public securities to an amount corresponding to its capital surplus and amortisation accounts.[4] When the charter of the National Bank of Hungary was prolonged to 1963 in June 1938, a number of changes were made in its statutes. The most important of the new provisions was authorisation to undertake open market operations. The total amounts which could be employed for such purposes were restricted as in the case of the Belgian Bank.[5]

1 Sixth Annual Report, B.I.S.
2 Ninth Annual Report, B.I.S., p. 121.
3 Money and Banking, (League of Nations), 1937-38, Vol. I, p. 86.
4 *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, October 1937, pp. 1003-06.
5 Nith Annual Report, B.I.S., p. 119.

A decree dated June 17, 1938, authorised the Bank of France to undertake open market operations. "In order to influence the volume of credit and to regulate the money market, the Bank of France was authorised in addition to the operations enumerated in Art. 106 of the codification decree of December 31, 1936, to buy in the open market within the limits and under the conditions fixed by the General Council negotiable short-term public bills and private bills eligible for discount and to re-sell without endorsement the bills previously acquired. Under no circumstances shall these operations be carried out for the benefit of the public treasury or the issuing bodies."[1] At the time of the currency reform of 1928, the Bank of France had already certain powers of the nature of open market operations. The Bank was authorised by Art. 9 of the convention of June 23 between the Government and the Bank to purchase bills and short-term paper for account of foreign banks of issue.[2] By Art. 3 of the convention entered into the same day between the Caisse Autonome Amortisement (Autonomous Amortization Office) and the Bank, the latter was permitted to sell in its discretion on the market and re-purchase before maturity bills of the Caisse Autonome which had been delivered to the Bank in exchange for treasury notes. From the constant performance of such operations the Bank was able to gather the experience necessary for carrying open market operations. Capital movements that affected the Paris market in recent years amply demonstrated the need of a more effective power of intervention. To that end the powers of the Bank were extended. It is expected that the new methods would reinforce its discount policy.

In several other countries the adoption of open market operations is under active consideration. In Switzerland two proposals were recently put forward with a view to the introduction of open market operations The Governor of the National Bank in its annual general meeting of March, 1937, urged a revision of the statutes to enable the Bank to buy bills, treasury bills and securities admitted to re-discount. The Commission for Economic Legislation has also recommended the introduction of open market practice.[3]

[1] *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, August, 1938, pp. 650-65.
[2] *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, August, 1928, pp. 573-75.
[3] Speech of the President of the National Bank to the General Meeting of Shareholders March 12, 1938 (Money and Banking, 1937-38, Vol. I, p. 86 footnote).

The power to undertake open market operations has been granted not only to a number of older central banks which had not enjoyed such privileges before but has also been provided for in the statutes of several newly created Banks. In the Argentine, New Zealand, Canada and India, such powers were included in the statutes of the Banks from the beginning.

In some of these countries the necessary conditions which have made open market operations so successful in the London and American money markets were present but in others they were not. The absence of a wide and active market for Government securities in several countries has caused such operations to be practically of limited significance. Thus we find that the Commonwealth Bank of Australia has not been able to use its open market powers owing to the fact that the market for Government securities was rather narrow.[1] As we shall see in the next section, the same factor has also stood in the way of the Indian Reserve Bank's utilisation of open market operations as an effective method of credit control. The development of an open market for Government securities is essential for strengthening the power of the Central Banks to regulate credit. The Royal Commission on Australian Banking urged the establishment of an open market for treasury bills in Australia so that the Commonwealth Bank might more effectively control credit.[2] It is well worth while for the Central Banks of those countries where the money markets are either ill-organised or non-existent to explore the feasibility of adopting new and hitherto untried methods of credit control rather than habitually relying on the traditional devices.

V

Speaking of untried instruments of credit control, one is reminded of the remarkable tendency for recent legislation to add to the armoury of central banks an absolutely new and hitherto unknown weapon of credit control in the shape of *the variable reserve ratio.*

It was Mr. Keynes who first proposed the introduction of this feature into the ideal central banking system of the future. Though revolutionary, some such power, he urged, should be given to the central banks. So far as the British system was concerned, he wanted the Bank of England to have the power to vary the pres-

1 Report of the Royal Commission on Australian Banking, August, 1937, p. 217.
2 Report of the Royal Commission on Australian Banking, August, 1937, p. 234.

cribed proportions of cash reserves to deposits to a figure between 10 and 20% for demand deposits and to a figure between 0 and 6% for time deposits.[1] The same technique was recommended for use by the Bank of England by the Macmillan Committee who urged the view that a statutory provision of minimum cash ratios was unnecessary. The Bank should represent to the joint-stock banks the cash percentages which it thought appropriate for the moment on the understanding that the latter should vary their cash ratios in accordance with the ideas of the Central Banks.[2]

The first country to adopt this new instrument of monetary control was the United States of America. Power to change the statutory reserve requirements of member banks was for the first time conferred upon the Federal Reserve Board by the so-called Thomas Amendment included in an Act of Congress approved on May 12, 1933. It was clarified and modified in the Banking Act of 1935. Partly as a result of open market operations and partly as a result of the continuous gold inflows, the excess reserves of the member banks had grown to unprecedented proportions. It was calculated that 50 billion dollars would be the amount of additional credit that could be created on the basis of the surplus reserves. If account were taken of further gold imports and the large amounts which the Reserve Banks and the Treasury could add to the huge reserves held by the member banks, astronomical figures would indeed be obtained.[3]

In the Banking Act of 1935, it was laid down that the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System upon the affirmative vote of not less than four of its members in order to prevent injurious credit expansion or contraction might by regulation change the requirements as to reserves to be maintained against demand or time deposits or both by member banks. But the amount of the reserves required to be maintained by any such member bank as a result of any such change should not be less than the amount of the reserves required to be maintained by any such member bank on the date of enactment of the Banking Act of 1935 nor more than twice such amount. Between the summer of 1936 and the early months of 1937 the Board of Governors increased the reserve requirements of the

[1] J. M. Keynes. *A Treatise on Money*, Vol. II, pp. 76-77.
[2] Report of the Macmillan Committee, para 360.
[3] Article by H. H. Preston "The Banking Act of 1935." *Journal of Political Economy*, December, 1935.

member banks by the full amount permissible under law. In April, 1938, reserve requirements were reduced by 1-8 or to approximately those obtaining in March and April, 1937.[1]

In New Zealand when the Reserve Bank Act of November, 1933, was amended by the Act of April 8, 1936, the Governor of the Reserve Bank acting with the authority of the Minister of Finance was empowered to alter the reserve ratios of trading banks from time to time as a means of maintaining effective control over the credit situation. The minimum ratios of 7% and 3% against sight and time liabilities respectively fixed by the Act of November, 1933, set the lower limit to the scope of variation.[2] In Belgium the Banking Commission which was authorised to fix cash ratios has reserved the right to vary the ratios as occasion demands.[3] In Australia the Royal Commission on Banking in their Report of August 27, 1937, recommended that the Commonwealth Bank Board should be empowered by Parliament to require with the consent of the Treasurer all trading banks to maintain a certain percentage of their deposits with the Commonwealth Bank and also to raise and lower the percentage from time to time within the limit fixed by the consent of the Treasurer.[4]

It may also be noted in this connection that in Sweden the Rikstag passed an enabling Act in June, 1937, empowering the Government until February 28, 1938, to authorise the Riksbank at its request to require all joint-stock banks with own funds in excess of 5 million kronor to hold their compulsory reserve of 25% against sight liabilities only in the form of till money, balances with itself and sight claims on foreign banks and to *prescribe at will the minimum proportion of balances with itself to total reserves.*[5]

Dr. J. C. Sinha in a recent publication has clearly demonstrated that none of the traditional weapons of credit control can be effectively wielded by the Indian Reserve Bank.[6] Credit rationing would be out of the question in India for any attempt by the Reserve Bank to ration credit would make it liable to the charge of favouritism in its present position of strength and respectability. Moral persuasion

1 *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, November, 1938, p. 860.
2 *The Bankers Magazine*, April, 1939. Article by H. R. Randerson. Also Money and Banking, Vol. II (League of Nations), 1937-38, p. 20.
3 Money and Banking, Vol. I (League of Nations), 1937-38, p 99
4 Report of the Royal Commission on Australian Banking. August, 1937, p. 228.
5 Money and Banking (League of Nations), Vol. II, 1937-38, p. 165.
6 J. C. Sinha : *Indian Currency during the last Decade*, Lecture X.

cannot be expected to produce any useful result in India unless the Reserve Bank were to attain the status of the Bank of England or the Federal Reserve Bank. Discount-rate policy of the Reserve Bank is blunt for all practical purposes owing to the existence of the indigenous bankers outside the fold of organised Banking. Open market policy upon which habitual reliance has been placed by central banks in England and U.S.A. would be of much too limited value on account of the absence of a wide and well organised market for Government securities in India. Large sales cannot be effected without considering their repercussions on the credit of the Government. If the Reserve Bank of India with a view to checking incipient boom conditions were to sell Government securities to any extent, the price of Government stocks would decline and rates of interest rise to the possible embarrassment of the Government. It will be recalled that the Commonwealth Bank of Australia has not been able to use its powers to undertake open market operations owing to the same difficulties of a narrow market for Government securities,[1] Keynes has rightly pointed out that the effectiveness of open market operations is dependent on the power of the Central banks to have their portfolios stocked with an adequate supply of "ammunition" in the shape of open market securities available for sale. The existence of an inadequacy of "ammunition" in the case of the Indian Reserve Bank points to the examination of the possibility of utilising the variable reserve ratio as an instrument of credit control. The statutory provision for the maintenance of legal minimum reserves with the Central Bank on the part of the scheduled banks provides an excellent opportunity for the former to regulate the credit situation by altering the reserve ratio. If the Reserve Bank were given the power to vary the percentages, a distinct forward step in the direction of credit control would be taken. It will go straight to the root of the matter, as Koynes says, instead of relying on indirect and roundabout influences.[2] In a country, as Sayers has pointed out, where extensive open market operations by the Central Bank are subject to great difficulties, mere existence of the weapon of reserve variation would add enormously to the influence of the central bank.[3]

The variable reserve ratio is a new and hitherto untried instrument of central bank policy and would have to be employed very

1 Report of the Royal Commission on Australian Banking, August, 1937, p. 217.
2 J. M. Keynes : *A Treatise on Money* Vol. II, pp. 76, 77.
3 R. Sayers : *Modern Banking*, p. 135, p. 295.

cautiously. It has some limitations but we believe they have been exaggerated by its opponents who would still cling to the traditional weapons. The main charge against this device is that it would introduce an element of uncertainty into the credit structure. "Sharp and sudden increases in reserve requirements could easily provoke a credit panic and result in excessive liquidation of bank credit."[1] But an increase in ratio may be made in such a manner as not to produce a shock.[2] The Reserve Bank of India may proceed very cautiously and by stages. The increments may be made step by step and to avoid shock and misunderstanding announcements may be made in advance how far the Bank proposed to go.[3] A higher differential advance may be applied against time deposits relatively to demand deposits. Again, lower differentials may be employed against the demand deposits of mofussil banks as against City Banks.

The traditional theory underlying member bank reserve balances was that their primary function was to impart liquidity to the banks. The theory was challenged for the first time in 1931 in the Report of the Federal Reserve Board's Committee on bank reserves. The Committee denied that liquidity was the primary function of the legal reserve balances of the member banks. Their primary functions were first to furnish resources to the Reserve Banks and secondly to limit and control the rate of credit expansion. The new conception is that reserve requirements of commercial banks serve primarily not as a means of preserving their liquidity but as a medium through which a contractionist or expansionist pressure can be exerted on the credit situation. The conception has generally been accepted in the United States where it has become the principal instrument of monetary policy with the Federal Reserve authorities in recent years.[4] It is, as Mr. Goodbar says, "a battery of the most improved type" that a Central Bank can add to its arsenal[5] and its adoption by the Reserve Bank of India will considerably strengthen its power to regulate the credit situation.

1 Kemmerer: *The A. B. C. of the Federal Reserve System* (1936), p. 243.
2 Cf: 4 p. 243. "The reserve ratios may be varied with due notices and in small degrees." Keynes, Vol. II, pp. 76-77.
3 L. L. Watkins' Article—"The Variable Reserve Ratio," *Journal of Political Economy* June, 1938, pp. 372-73.
4 *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, November 1938, Article "The History of Reserve Requirements," p. 953.
5 Goodbar: *Managing Peoples' Money*, p. 442.

VI

The extension of the scope of discounts and advances is a remarkable feature of recent central banking legislation. The traditional requirements relating to eligibility have been considerably relaxed and paper which would have been frowned upon by central bankers in the post-war years as lacking in security and liquidity have been declared eligible. Central banks have also been empowered to accept new types of securities as collateral for advances. But perhaps the most striking development in this connection has been the authorisation of central banks to grant direct industrial credit.

Treasury bills and various kinds of special bills have been admitted for rediscount with the Bank of France. In pursuance of the general principles adopted by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, in the new regulations on discount and advances of 1st October, 1937, finance paper, construction loan notes and consumers' paper were made eligible for discount.

It is significant that the old provisions requiring the use of the proceeds of eligible paper 'in the first instance' "for the purpose of producing, purchasing and carrying or working goods" find no place in the new regulations. It will undoubtedly have the effect of rendering a large amount of paper of commission merchants and finance companies eligible for discount. The recent provisions relating to the type of securities acceptable to the Federal Reserve Banks as collateral for advances appear to be more interesting. The Glass-Steagall Act of February 27, 1932, had added two new sections to the Federal Reserve Act, *viz.*, Secs. 10-*a* and 10-*b* under which member banks singly or in groups of five or more could borrow from the Reserve Banks on other security than that heretofore defined as eligible for discount. Such loans were to be made at a rate at least 1% above bank rate. Previously mere eligiblity would not have admitted a paper as collateral for a loan; it would have to be in addition acceptable. The Glass Steagall Act for the first time made it possible for member banks to borrow on any sound asset,—on acceptable, if ineligible, paper, and did away with the distinction between "eligibility" and "acceptability" which had been painfully built up in the years after the last Great War.[1] The Act was intended

[1] S. E. Harris: *Twenty Years of Federal Reserve Policy*, Vol. II. p. 695.

to be an emergency measure to be in force for only one year and facilities under its terms could be obtained only under exceptional circumstances. With slight changes, the Act was made a permanent feature by the Banking Act of August 23, 1935, when the emergency clause was also removed.

Ever since the last Great War a remarkable change has been taking place slowly and imperceptibly in the attitude of Central Banks regarding their relationship to business emergencies. The post-war shortage of industrial capital and the incidence of the last depression on several industries led Central Banks to undertake many functions which were entirely out of harmony with the traditional principles of central banking. They had to conceive it as a part of their duty to the community to preserve business from the consequences of its own blunders and even to make direct loans to industry in the event of need. In several countries there arose an insistent demand that central banks should make a permanent practice of lending to industry.[1]

The outstanding example of a central bank associating itself closely with industry and even taking a financial interest in an industrial financing company is that of the Bank of England when it organised the Bankers' Industrial Development Company in 1930. In a country which is the traditional home of orthodox banking, such a departure from the recognised canons of central banking must be highly significant. It may indeed be argued that it was "an abnormal effort for an abnormal occasion"—a step of an unusual character prompted by a desire to give a helping hand in the promotion of the general welfare of the country.[2] But such a step would hardly have been taken by central bankers in the pre-war or in the early post-war years.

The establishment of the Bankers' Industrial Development Company under the auspices of the Bank of England has not been the only instance of the association of the Central Bank of the country with industry. During the period 1922-30 the Bank of England had already become associated with a number of industrial reorganisation schemes. The Lancashire Cotton Corporation was the result of the initiative of Mr. Montagu Norman and received the direct financial

[1] P. Willis; *Theory and Practice of Central Banking with special reference to the Federal Reserve System*, Ch. III.

[2] Minutes of Evidence, Committee on Finance and Industry, Vol. II, pp. 294-95. Also S. K. Basu: *Industrial Finance in India*, p. 60.

support of the Bank. The armament firm of Armstrong & Co , Ltd., and the steelfirm of William Beardmore & Co.,Ltd., received generous assistance from the Bank in connection with their reorganisation schemes.[1] In more recent years the Bank of England is found to have associated itself with the " Credit for Industry, Ltd." a specialist institution for financing small and middle-sized industries, through the United Dominions Trust. The Bank had become the largest shareholder of the U.D.T. by the acquisition in 1930 of 250,000 ' B ' shares of £1 each and it was under the aegis of the U.D.T. that the " Credit for Industry " was founded.[2]

In the years after the depression this tendency for central banks to furnish industrial credit has been particularly striking. Indeed in some countries provisions were even made in the statutes of central banks authorising them to make direct loans to industry. The Federal Reserve Bank Act of June 19, 1934, is perhaps the most important piece of legislation in this respect. Under its terms the Federal Reserve Banks have been empowered to discount or buy from " any bank, trust company, mortgage company, credit corporation for industry or other financing institute " obligations maturing within five years entered into for the purpose of advances to commercial and industrial enterprises. The financing institution must itself advance at least 20% of the working capital or must be responsible for at least the same percentage for any loss suffered by the Federal Reserve Rank. In exceptional circumstances, the Federal Reserve Banks may, make direct working capital advances to established private industries. The aggregate amount of credit that may be outstanding at any time is limited to the combined reserves of the Federal Reserve Banks *plus* amounts paid to the Bank by the Treasury for this purpose.[3] By December 29, 1937, the total applications received in this connection amounted to 363 million dollars of which 151 million were approved. The industrial advances of the Federal Reserve Banks outstanding totalled 14 million, 39 million, 25 million, 18 million and 16 million at the end of 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1938, respectively.[4]

The Reserve Bank of New Zealand was empowered by the Amendment Act of April 8, 1936, to grant accommodation by way of over-

1 See the present writer's *Indusirial Financein India*, p. 49, pp. 5-6, 5-7, p. 60
2 S. K. Basu : *Industrial Fincnce in India*, p. 62.
3 Money and Banking (League of Nations), 1937-38, Vol. II, p. 20.
Money and Banking, 1938-39, Vol. II, p. 188.
4 Money and Banking, 1937-38, Vol. II, Table VIII, p. 200. Also Vol. I. fn. p. 85.

draft to the Government and to official organisations to finance the purchase and marketing of New Zealand produce, with no defined limits to the total of Government overdrafts. These provisions were used under the Primary Produce Marketing Act of July, 1936, by virtue of which the Government became the sole exporter of dairy produce and the Reserve Bank the sole bank financing its export.[1] A distinct forward step towards unorthodox methods of central banking was taken when in March, 1938, a plan was put forward to involve the Reserve Bank in an ambitious scheme of Government steel production. A bill was introduced for establishing an iron and steel industry as a state monopoly and authorising the Reserve Bank to finance the project by investing in it a sum not exceeding £5 million.[2] The Bank of Italy was authorised by Art. 99 of the Law of March 16, 1936 "as a special measure to carry out discounting operations during a period of three years with a view to supplying the extraordinary credit needs of certain branches of national production." Since 1933 the Bank has been making advances to the Institute per la Ricostruzione Industriale set up by the Decree of January, 1933, the second section of which took over the accounts of the Instituto di Liquidazioni and the industrial participations of credit institutions. The Instituto di Liquidazioni itself was established in 1926 to take over from the "Sezione autonoma del consorzio per Sorvenzioni Su valori industriale" the frozen assets of the Banco di Sconto and other institutions.[3]

The Reserve Bank of India, however, is inclined to follow strictly the orthodox canons of central banking. In the recent Statutory Report published by the Bank, the highly conservative attitude it has taken up in relation to agricultural financing is based upon the pre-war traditional conception of the functions of a central bank. The activities of the Reserve Bank in this direction have fallen far short of the expectations and have naturally come under a fire of criticism. Caution, no doubt, is necessary but admittedly there is considerable force in some of these criticisms. As Prof. J. P. Niyogi in a recent lecture has pointed out, the Reserve Bank has failed to distinguish between one Indian province and another and between areas in which co-operation has proved a success and in which it has not. In its zeal to define its rôle of a strictly orthodox central banker, it has unfortu-

1 Money and Banking (League of Nations, 1937-38, Vol. II, p. 20.
2 *The Bankers' Magazine*, April, 1938, p. 621.
3 Money and Banking (League of Nations), 1938-39, Vol. II, p. 109.

nately grouped the good and the bad co-operative banks together under one category. There are certainly many banks which would satisfy the most rigorous tests that the Reserve Bank may choose to employ. Moreover, there is at least one very important direction in which the Reserve Bank may without much risk extend its activities—*viz.*, in the development of marketing credit.

When the Bank's position with regard to agricultural finance has been so conservative, it is idle to expect that it will agree to dabble in industrial financing. But the tonic of the present war is likely to develop many new industries as well as to call for reorganisation and extension in many of the old-established industries. In the near future the demand for industrial capital, particularly for development, extension and modernisation would be greater than it has ever been before. The Reserve Bank, in the words of the Governor of the Bank of England, may take a step of an unusual character prompted for the general welfare of the country with a view to give a helping hand. It may at least help in the establishment of a specialist Institution for financing industries as the Bank of Finland did in connection with the starting of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland. The Finnish Mortgage Bank was the outcome of the negotiations that took place between the Bank of Finland and the largest joint-stock banks and the leaders of Finnish industry for the purpose of establishing a specialist institution for financing the industries of the country.[1]

(Concluded)

[1] S. K. Basu, *Industrial Finance in India*, p. 322.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE: ITS IMPORTANCE AND PRACTICABILITY

SAROJENDRANATH ROY, M.Sc.

THE age we are living in is an age of problems. Not that problems did not exist before, but it is a fact beyond any question that the problems were never so numerous nor so acute as they happen to be at present. Our country too has to face today a variety of problems, social, political, economical, industrial, etc. Each of them, however, is found to run into the other in such a chaotic way that a proper solution of them becomes itself a problem. Every one of them deserves consideration and is being attended to by competent persons. But, unfortunately, the attempts made by these persons to arrive at solutions have not met with the degree of success that was expected of them. When the country is thus already overcharged with problems, it may seem pedantic on my part to attempt to draw the attention of the public to another new problem. The problem, however, let it be mentioned, is not my own creation—it is one which is emerging out of the demands of the society and the conditions of the country. Secondly, it is not a wholly new problem: it began to make its presence felt since the adoption of the ideas of industrialization and industrial reforms in our country. Besides, in the strict sense of the term no problem can ever be an entirely new one, it is only newly discovered and the credit goes to the man who discovers it. Lastly, it is a problem which has created newer problems. It will thus be seen that, like that of a middleman, my task is only to establish a connection between the problem on the one hand and those interested in the welfare of the society on the other. I feel convinced that the chaotic condition of the country, will be replaced by a more orderly system, if the leaders of the society as also of the different industrial concerns, exert themselves a little and give sufficient weight and consideration to the various aspects of this particular problem.

The problem that I have been referring to above, and which seems to me to be the pivot round which other problems turn, is the problem of Vocational Guidance. It is the most important

and urgent problem in these days of unemployment and is related to all the vital activities of the country. Everyone will bear me out when I say that no two men possess the same kind and the same degrees of physical and psychical attributes. Indeed the differences are so obvious that he who runs may read them. We fully appreciate also that the occupations and activities through which the life of a nation is manifested, and, in fact, to one or other of which every member of any human organisation must necessarily devote himself, are of a variegated character. It must further be noted that the occupations differ among themselves a good deal as regards the demands that they make upon the physical and psychical qualities of the individuals. This implies that there are limitations and specifications not only in the sphere of occupational requirements but also in the cases of men entering into particular vocations. In order that connections between men on the one side and occupations on the other be made well established, well-coördinated and effective, a careful study of both the man and the occupation is not only justified but is absolutely necessary. If the occupational life of a man be fettered with inconsistencies, imperfections and pitfalls, that will not only lead to utter misery of himself, but will cause an enormous burden to the society, of which he is a member. It would be admitted that one of the fundamental elements contributing to the happiness of man is a well-chosen and suitable vocation in which he feels quite at home. But what a random method is generally pursued in our country by men, even by men of immense responsibilities and high reputation, when the question of proper placement of individuals arise ! I need not go into details about the policies that are usually adopted by our countrymen, but it may be said at once that these generally prove to be of no avail, and instead of helping the individuals in their struggle for life act as hindrances in the path of national progress. What a pitiable situation it is, to find a highly intelligent youth rotting in the post of a mechanic, or a feeble-minded person placed in a responsible job, as a result of improper assessment of their respective characteristics. The aim of Vocational Guidance is just to prevent these catastrophes and to see that individuals are placed in professions that are proper for them.

Vocational guidance is even more an art than a science. Few persons are entirely suitable for any particular job and many persons are not suitable for any job at all. " Everybody has a genius for

some one job if only he can find out what it is," runs the popular belief. But there is nothing substantial in favour of such an extreme contention. On the other hand, there is always some element of compromise in the choice of a vocation. Exact fits can never be expected. The youth has to try to adjust himself to his job and to adapt the job to himself. It must not be thought, of course, that this effort of adaptation is essential for success in a vocation. If the individual peculiarities tally with the vocational demands, the efforts are mostly spontaneous and become easily effective. If they do not, there is a certain limit within which the efforts of adjustment may be successful. When the discrepancies between the vocational requirements and the capacities of a man are, however, too great, no amount of effort on the part of the individual will enable him to carry on the duties of the profession with any reasonable degree of success. That is why the first and foremost function of Vocational Guidance is to dissuade young persons from taking up jobs for which they are judged to be quite unsuitable and to find jobs in which they may adjust themselves.

I have already stated that the life of a vocational misfit is a tragedy. The sentiment of self-regard, which is one of the fundamental sentiments in one's character, is greatly disturbed in cases of such misfits. His personality does not find full expression at all, and there are marked inconsistencies in and between the piecemeal expressions that are noticed. These and other resultant factors, such as anxiety, worriedness, etc., make him always live a life of high tension and perturbance. Besides this, the extent of financial loss which the misfits cause each year to industry, commerce and other manifold establishments, by their wastefulness, mistakes and lack of stability, is an amount beyond any estimate.

There is common agreement that every preventive and curative step should be taken which might lead to a reduction in the number of vocational misfits. This leads to the question which gives the psychologists most concern is whether reliable and valid psychological methods are available. To this I would reply in the affirmative, with some reservations. The reservations are due to the fact that many of the existing methods and tests are still in the stage of transition and are, therefore, subject to modifications and further improvements. Some compare the present state of vocational psychology with that of the science of medicine, a hundred years ago,

when many oddities and absurdities were passed for knowledge and wisdom. There is undoubtedly some basis for such comparison. In spite of drawbacks, however, the value of the methods is testified by the reports of the follow-up investigations which are published periodically by the Vocational Guidance department of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, at London, the first scientific organisation of its kind in the world. The department claims that its guidance has been proved to be successful in about 80% of cases.

Not only at London, but in many other Western countries, the importance of the problem of Vocational Guidance has of late been duly recognised and some of the Universities are attempting to arrive at a practical solution of the problem, by establishing Vocational Guidance bureaus. Russia even has not failed to grasp the importance of the problem and so she has started work on vocational psychology in her psychological laboratories. But, unfortunately, she is perhaps the only country, the details of whose activities in this branch of study do not reach those who are interested in the problem. In the East, in the University at Tokyo, Japan, applications of vocational psychology have been reported to be current. In India, the Psychology department of the University of Calcutta has made a bold venture in her attempt for promoting research in this particular line of investigation, and it is expected that there will soon be a number of similar research centres in other universities of the country.

In collaboration with the above department in Calcutta, the problem of applying the methods of vocational psychology to a large number of schoolboys of Bengal (and, if possible, of other parts of India too), who are in urgent need of proper guidance, can be tackled with relative ease. But if the methods are to be employed extensively which is one of the aims of this department to do, a wide range of coöperation is needed. Along with the department the responsibility is to be shared by the State, the Corporation and by the industrial and other employment organisations, without which it will not be possible to make any progress at all. If, under such a happy conglomeration of circumstances, different organisations are started for the purpose of extensive application of these methods, it can easily be imagined that the demands on the Psychology Department of the University will be an ever-increasing one. It is likely that the departmental staff will not then be able to cope with the demands. It would be in the fitness of things, if the members of the Teaching

profession be called upon to shoulder the greater part of the task of applying these methods. The appreciation of the fact that the teachers may be of great service in this matter, has already led hundreds of teachers to seek some training in Vocational Guidance methods from the National Institute, which has at present attained a state of great advancement.

Let me now present some details about the procedure usually adopted by a psychologist, when he is approached for giving Vocational Guidance. The first thing necessary is to have a complete picture of the candidate's physical and psychological make-up, as also that of the environment in which he (or she as the case may be) has been brought up and is living at present. In order to have such a picture, proper tests are to be administered, and also the coöperation of the parents, teachers and medical men, is to be sought after. The following seven-point scheme as advocated by the National Institute, will prove to be valuable in studying a child desiring Vocational Guidance :—

(*a*) Home circumstances of the candidate: Information regarding home conditions is to be obtained principally from an interview with the parents at their residence, supplemented by various queries to the child. The object of this is to have a picture of the environmental influence to which the boy had been subjected in the past and is so at the present. In this connection the financial and social conditions of the family, occupations of the father and other members of the family, etc., are to be noted down.

(*b*) His physical characteristics: He should be examined by a physician in order to ascertain the efficiency and deficiency of his bodily apparatus. This is necessary because some occupations demand a high degree of physical fitness and an individual lacking in that should be kept out of those occupations and be advised otherwise.

(*c*) His attainments : To have an information about the boy whether he participates in work, games and other activities, his leisure pursuits, etc.; not only the boy is to be questioned, but the help of the parents and teachers also should be resorted to.

(*d*) His level of intelligence : Proper tests are to be administered for ascertainment of this.

(*e*) His special aptitudes : Tests are to be used.

(*f*) His interests : From tests and interviews.

(*g*) His temperament : By application of tests and studying test behaviours.

So much as regards the study of the boy is concerned. The next task, which is as important as the study of the boy, is a careful analysis of the occupations available in our country. The vocational psychologist should analyse the different occupations in respect of their requirements—physical, psychological and others of temperamental origin. For this he should first of all prepare a provisional analysis of the various vocations, and then, after consultations and discussions with the professionals and other employment officers, will come to a more or less final decision about the requirements of the professions. These officers and professionals are expected to possess knowledge about the requirements of the vocations (as also of the degree of the requirements) with which they themselves are concerned. This analysis may be further made accurate by investigating the follow-up records of those who have been already advised. The aim of the vocational psychologist achieves fulfilment when he gives guidance in the light of these two studies—study of the boy on the one hand and vocational requirements on the other.

This would lead us to suspect whether everyone is suitable for becoming a vocational psychologist. The lay belief that only the capacity of administration and scoring of test results, is sufficient qualification of a vocational psychologist, is inadmissible. It is only a fractional part of the psychologist's qualification. Mere collection of results by the application of tests is absolutely valueless, unless they are properly interpreted, in the light of information already gathered about the boy as also of the occupation. Interpretation of results is the main function of a qualified vocational psychologist. Some of the essential functions that a qualified vocational psychologist is expected to execute may be summed up as follows:—

(*i*) He must have knowledge about occupational requirements and opportunities.

(*ii*) He will collect data about the boy seeking guidance (by interviews and written reports) from parents or guardian, doctor and teacher.

(*iii*) He will add to these data other information about the boy, by making proper use of tests for general intelligence and special aptitudes, and by planned interviews.

(*iv*) He will then interpret all the data available in the light of his general knowledge of occupational requirements and opportunities.

(*v*) He should undertake the task of making suggestions and finding suitable openings to candidates, and would also keep in touch with different employment organisations and coöperate with them in similar tasks. It would be profitable, for example, for the psychologist as also for the Information and Appointments Bureau of the Calcutta University, if they coöperate with each other. The other day, I found, in the columns of a newspaper, about the successful achievement of several graduates who, on the recommendation of the Bureau, got appointment in a well-reputed industrial firm of Calcutta It is no doubt a notable chapter in the life of the Bureau and a pleasure to all concerned, but what I like to point out in this connection is that more satisfactory results will be forthcoming if the recommendations of candidates by the Bureau are based on a more rigid and scientific procedure.

(*vi*) He should instruct young people in appropriate methods of applying for posts.

(*vii*) He should keep a ' follow-up ' record of those he advises, by obtaining regular reports from the candidates themselves as regards their satisfaction or otherwise, as also from the employers regarding the candidates' nature of work.

It can well be realised, therefore, of what tremendous significance and national importance the problem of Vocational Guidance is. I, in my humble way, have tried to show how the practical solution of the problem can be brought about with relative ease. Before I conclude, I would like to point out some of the difficulties which will be encountered by the enthusiasts who will take up the problem in right earnest. There will be difficulties *sui generis* to the problem itself. From academic standpoint these are quite natural and, so, ought to be expected. But there will also be difficulties other than these which are sometimes unexpected. They result from the impressions and the attitudes which the problem will create in the public mind. These difficulties have also to be confronted and tackled tactfully with the same degree of earnestness as in the case of former ones. It may be argued that the second type of difficulties is quite natural in all social problems, and as such may be expected in this problem too, which is

fundamentally a social problem. A slight reflection will make it clear, however, that the role which is to be played by the public in connection with this problem, is more important than in any other social problem: I, therefore, appeal once more to the public bodies to realise the gravity of the situation and to do their utmost, so that the problem may not be shelved and the aim of Vocational Guidance frustrated right at the start.

THE SILK INDUSTRY OF BENGAL*

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WHAT is silk—What is commonly known as silk is the product of a worm which is completely domesticated and requires to be nursed indoors and fed with mulberry leaf. When fully grown and mature the worms spin cocoons from which the silk thread is unravelled by a process called reeling. Tasar and Muga silks are produced by worms which are wild in nature and have to be left on various forest trees to feed at will Eri silk is obtained from a worm which too is completely domesticated and feeds on castor leaves. As regards quality, universality of use and amenability to large production, mulberry silk is the best and most suitable and this silk is practically the only one which is of importance to Bengal as constituted at present. The western parts of Bankura and Birbhum districts grow a little tasar which flourishes in Chotanagpur and in parts of Orissa and Central Provinces. The districts of Bogra, Rungpur and Mymensingh grow a little eri whose home is Assam. The other large silk producing areas in India are Mysore and Kashmir. There are small productions in Madras, Assam and the Punjab.

SUBSTITUTES OF SILK AND COMPETITION APPREHENDED FROM THEM

According to the accepted theory the process of production and utilisation of silk by man was first discovered by a Chinese princess who afterwards became queen, with the name of Si-Sing-Chi (the enlightened one) and ever since known as the "Goddess of the Silkworm." The knowledge was kept a close secret by China for many centuries and in early times fabrics woven with this queen of fibres fetched their own weight of gold in Roman markets. The wizard of science set about finding substitutes for this beautiful and costly fibre and succeeded in producing from vegetable or wood cellulose what is well known as artificial or art silk rivalling the natural silk in appearance to such an extent that it is even now passed off as real silk to

* A lecture at the Rotary Club, Calcutta.

persons not acquainted with its nature. In advanced countries the use of the word silk has therefore been prohibited by law in the case of fabrics woven with this synthetic stuff and the word rayon has been adopted for it. Markings are enforced to indicate mixtures of cotton and rayon, wool and rayon, silk and rayon and so on. Attempts have been continued to find out other artificial fibres. A kind of rayon from sugar has been produced and named sakatine. In Italy a synthetic or artificial wool fibre known as "lanital" has been produced from casein of milk. "Vinyon" is a new synthetic textile fibre patented in U. S. A. and formed by spinning a solution of vinylite resin into filaments and claimed to be water resistant, water-proof and non-conductive of electricity. Properties even exceeding those for which the natural silk is prized are claimed for another new synthetic fibre in U.S.A, named "Nylon." Both vinyon and Nylon are derived ultimately from coal, salt, air and water. Rayon has so far been a rival of natural silk. Owing to its deceptive appearance and ignorance of consumers it created such a confusion that international propaganda had to be organised in Europe and America at great cost in order to enlighten people as to the nature of silk and rayon. Experience in use has also enabled consumers to find out the difference. Matters have improved much and rayon is now accepted as a distinct textile fibre like cotton, flax, silk and wool. The position was correctly described by the President of the Silk Association of Great Britain and Ireland in the Annual dinner on the 27th March, 1935 when he said that "silk and rayon are sister industries and not fighting each other. They are both fighting for the use of beautiful fabrics of light weight and I think they are expanding at the expense of cotton, wool, linen and other fibres."

The growth of the rayon industry has been phenomenal. The world production of rayon fibres was only 50,000 lbs. in 1928. By 1924-25 it equalled that of silk, *viz.*, 85 million lbs. Ten years later in 1934-35 rayon mounted to 835 million lbs. while silk was 195 million lbs. In 1937-38 silk suffered a setback being 121 million lbs, while rayon rose to 1,822 million lbs. and in 1939 it is estimated at 2,150 million lbs. (The figures are taken from "Industrial Fibres" published by the Imperial Economic Committee, London.) This growth has been possible owing to availability of the raw material, *viz.*, wood in abundance, manufacture in factories in mass scale and cheap price. Expansion has been further helped by the discovery of the process of

converting rayon filament into what is known as staple fibre.) Rayon filaments are cut into lengths of from about half to five inches similar to those of cotton, wool or schappe and capable of being spun by themselves as well as in mixtures with cotton, silk and wool. Fabrics are thus produced which simulate woollen, worsted and cotton textures in wide ranges and varieties. Rayon filament fibres and staple fibres are at present produced almost in equal proportions. They together formed in 1937-38 about 7½ per cent. of the world's total production of all industrial fibres together, *viz.*, cotton, wool, rayon flax and silk and equalled both flax and wool. Rayon, therefore, forms a major fibre at present. In India its nature and position have not been correctly understood. While almost all other countries have undertaken its production such as U. S. A., Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy, Poland, Japan and others, India has attempted no production but on the other hand taken steps to keep it out by tariff walls which have been demanded not only as a protection for natural silk but also by the cotton mill industry. Inspite of the tariff however the import into India in 1937-38 of rayon yarn was about 32 million lbs. and of rayon fabrics about 90 million yards, the two together being valued at 487 lakhs of rupees. (About 99 per cent of the rayon fabrics came from Japan while the principal suppliers of the yarn were Japan and Italy, Great Britain getting a small share.) Within the last few years mills with 60,000 looms and described as silk mills have been set up in different parts of India for weaving rayon which however is wholly imported. There is a great scope of rayon production in India and if cheap rayon yarn is made available the hand loom weavers of both cotton and silk will benefit as both can weave it on their looms. Rayon and its fabrics have come to stay and the sooner they are accepted the better. They meet a new demand. If properly organised they will not compete with silk. Rayon fabrics require to be marked and no one who wants silk will go in for them. As regards competition with cotton nothing can stop it. If India does not produce rayon it will be imported and used. (Japan, the largest producer of silk and one of the largest producers of cotton fabrics, was also the largest producer of rayon in 1938.) The relationship of rayon with silk will further be evident from the fact that in 1939-40 the Japan Government is giving a subsidy of £300,000 to sericulturists in order to increase production of silk. In India inspite of the large imports mentioned above of rayon and rayon goods the following average annual import

figures of raw silk and silk goods in two five years periods one ending 1913-14 when there was no rayon and Burma was included, and the other ending 1937-38 when there was rayon and Burma was excluded, show that rayon has not affected the use of silk.

Imports of	Period ending 1913-14	Period ending 1937-38
Raw silk	2,520,000 lbs.	2,300,000 lbs. (2,535,000 lbs. in 1937-38)
Silk piece goods	25,253,000 yds.	33,712,000 yds.
Mixed silk goods	6,418,000 yds.	9,058,000 yds.

Production in India was about the same in the two periods.

The present annual production of raw silk in India is estimated at 1,500,000 lbs. Therefore there is a vast scope of development of the silk industry in order to meet the demand within the country itself. Besides there are two outlets for the products of the industry. One is of raw silk for countries where silk weaving is practised but no production is possible and the other of woven fabrics. In the case of both two things are required to be ensured, *viz.*, standardisation of quality and organisation for large supply of standardised quality. If these two can be arranged and maintained there is no bar to progress and expansion of the industry.

The Nature of the Silk Industry

The industry is divisible into two distinct parts, *viz.*, production and utilisation. Production or sericulture proper is a rural home industry. Along with agricultural crops cultivators grow some mulberry and when leaves are available rear worms in their houses with the leaves and mainly with the labour of the family members. The cocoons when formed are sold off for utilisation. The first process in utilisation is reeling, a capitalistic industry, for which buildings have to be erected, cocoons purchased, machinery set up, labour engaged and the product, *viz.*, raw silk marketed. Uniformity in thickness and other qualities of raw silk desired and demanded cannot be ensured unless reeling is arranged to be carried out under supervision on a large scale in a central place. Reeling therefore to be successful must be a factory industry. The second stage in utilisation is weaving of raw silk into fabrics. In Bengal silk weaving has been almost wholly a cottage industry in the hands of weavers who work at their own home on hand looms. Cocoon production, reeling and weaving are the three

successive stages of the industry which require to be attended to at the same time and co-ordinated.

Rearing of worms for cocoon production is dependent on suitable climatic conditions and is therefore not possible in all countries. For economic reasons again this is carried out and is the best subsidiary industry in countries with a poor peasantry. Reeling for obvious reasons is best carried out where cocoons are produced. Reeling factories have therefore to be located in rural areas and they employ a large number of the rural population. Weaving can be carried out in any country. The largest silk weaving industry consuming about two-thirds of the world's available supply of raw silk is in U. S. A. which produces no raw silk, but takes its supply from Japan and also from China and Italy.

What requires to be emphasised is the interdependence of the three stages of the industry. Reeling depends on utilisation of raw silk by weaving and on the other hand on the supply of cocoons. The larger the demand for raw silk the larger the reeling and the larger the realing the larger the demand for cocoons and necessarily for expansion of mulberry cultivation and rearing of worms. The existence of a reeling industry is the most important factor and essential. It affords the only outlet for cocoons. Under the existing conditions in Bengal cocoons cannot be stored for a long time and become practically useless unless reeled off. The cocoon-growers are therefore very sensitive to existence or non-existence of a reeling industry. The greatest blow fell on the silk industry in Bengal when the European reeling concerns wound up their business gradually and finally about twenty years ago. They performed the role of financiers, industrialists and marketers of raw silk. Their withdrawal led to contraction of the cocoon-growing industry. Still many Bengali reeling factories mostly small and only a few large ones but all owned by private individuals continued. The depression which commenced about 1930 causing precipitate fall in prices involved most of them in heavy losses and caused them to stop work. The cocoon-growing industry therefore contracted further. The decade just closing has seen a crisis for the industry. Even the Japanese industry could not evade the effects of depression. But the Japanese Government very wisely came to the help of the reeling industry, fixed a minimum price at which Government would purchase and stock raw silk and would not sell the stock unless the market rose to a stipulated maximum price. The Govern-

ment was prepared to and did meet losses which however owing to subsequent rise in price did not amount to what was apprehended. The reeling industry was thus saved. For want of similar attention and help in Bengal the industry became wholly disorganised.

The history of the silk industry in all countries shows similar fluctuations in the past. It expands with high and contracts with low prices. A period of high prices seems now to have commenced.

Cocoon-growing being the occupation of ordinary cultivators has to meet competition of money crops like jute and sugarcane but has peculiarities of its own which enable it to survive. It gives occupation to family members in their leisure time and fetches ready momey four to five times in the year. If properly organised it will never disappear from Bengal but on the other hand will be of great benefit to the rural population. The industry, especially its first stage, is in the hands of people who are not able to appreciate the necessity for and adopt measures of improvement without State help. The success and progress of the industry wherever achieved have been proportionate to the amount of state help received. The wonderful success of the Japanese industry is due mainly to the fostering care of the Government who do not grudge the expense in the interest of the rural population.

The Industry in Bengal

The industry in all its stages has been in existence in Bengal from very ancient times. Authentic history about it is available from the time of the East India Company who undertook measures to improve it, established reeling factories and exported raw silk as well as silk fabrics. When they threw open the trade and ceased export on their own account many European concerns opened reeling factories in the interior of rearing districts. In the sixties of the last century the Bengal industry was in a flourishing condition. About the seventies of the same century China and Japan entered the world's market with raw silk of a better quality and this marked the commencement of the downfall of the Bengal industry. Although the first to be introduced into the world's market Bengal silk has now disappeared from it and had to recede even from other provinces of India and in Bengal itself. I shall briefly relate the causes for this downfall and also point out how there is hope of revival and what the Government is doing for revival. Time will not permit me to go into details.

The Causes of Downfall

The primary causes of the downfall of the raw silk industry was

(1) the poor quality of Bengal cocoons, the raw silk from which could not compete in yield as well as in quality with that from better cocoons produced in Japan and China.

Other contributory causes were

(2) inefficient reeling machinery and methods,

(3) absence of grading of raw silk,

(4) absence of an organisation to check unfair practices of mixing inferior raw silk with the quality stipulated for.

Fabrics too suffered on account of poor quality of raw silk and there was no grading and standardisation for them.

The quality of cocoons is connected with the race of worms. The quality of food, *i.e.*, mulberry leaf, has also a great influence on the health of the worm and necessarily on the cocoon produced by it. The Japan Government set up elaborate research organisations to bring about and maintain improvements in races of worms and mulberry and also in reeling machinery and methods. Raw silk was graded and all raw silk for export was subjected to examination and test and certification. Similar measures were adopted in the case of fabrics also. The result has been world-wide expansion of Japanese raw silk and silk goods.

Hope of Revival of the Bengal Industry and Measures adopted for it

Within the last three years the following measures have been adopted in Bengal, *viz.*,

(1) introduction of two hybrid races of worms producing cocoons with much larger silk content and much larger filament than the indigenous races. Even under the best conditions about 20,000 or more cocoons of the old indigenous races are required to produce one seer (2·1lbs.) of raw silk while about 10,000 to 12,000 cocoons of the new races gives the same yield ;

(2) introduction of better reeling machinery and methods ; and

(3) establishment of a raw silk conditioning house for testing and grading raw silk.

The results obtained within this short period have been very hopeful and the type of raw silk produced have convinced rearers, reelers and consumers of raw silk of sure chances of revival of the Bengal industry. The recent rise in price of raw silk has created an enthusiasm among them and if this rise is maintained there is every hope of revival.

Research has been undertaken with a view to securing more improved races of worms suitable for Bengal conditions, improved cocoons, improved mulberry and improved methods of growing mulberry. A method of grafted mulberry has already been evolved ensuring increased yield of leaves with high food value. Investigation has also been undertaken for the control of diseases of worms. The organisation for production and supply to rearers of disease-free eggs of silkworms has been strengthened and schemes for its further improvement are under consideration. Schemes are also under consideration for spread of sericultural education among the rearers and for facilities of training of staff. The Sericultural Research and Training Institute which is expected to be started soon will play a great part in the revival of the industry. In the organisation so far effected of research and disease-free seed production help has been received from various sources. The Government of India in addition to giving tariff protection which, however, did prove quite adequate at the time, has made annual monetary grants to Bengal to the extent of about Rs. 49,000, the Calcutta University has given free laboratory accommodation to research officers, free land for growing mulberry, free use of costly apparatus and permission to heads of Zoological, Botanical, Chemical and Biochemical departments of the University College of Science to help the research officers when necessary. The heads of these departments have been rendering help ungrudgingly. A private gentleman, Mr. Haridas Mazumdar, has made a free gift of building and land worth about Rs. 10,000 at Narayanpur, Dum Dum, where the mulberry research station has been organised.

For the improvement of silk weaving industry a scheme has been sanctioned for raising the existing Silk Weaving School at Berhampore into a Silk Technological Institute, among the functions of which the following are included, *viz.*, helping the silk weavers to produce standardised goods and goods of up-to-date improved types on a large scale and finishing, testing and certifying the goods as to standard. In order to resuscitate the reeling industry a scheme is under considera-

tion for establishment of large factories by the formation of a silk syndicate. Several small reeling concerns are now fitting up the new machinery and following the new methods introduced. But without large scale factories revival cannot be quick.

With the reorganisation indicated above, with continuous research with properly trained staff and with vigilance and timely help where necessary on the part of the Government, the industry is expected to be revived in the immediate future and is possible to be maintained in a permanent state as in Japan.

THE RESERVE BANK'S PROPOSALS FOR AN INDIAN ACT

DR. BIRENDRANATH GANGULI, M.A., PH.D.

THE immediate objective of banking legislation in India should be to strengthen the weakest links in the chain of Indian banking, *viz.*, the non-scheduled banks whose capital resources do not reach the five-lakh limit prescribed for the second schedule of the Reserve Bank. There were operating in British India on the 31st December, 1938, approximately 1421 companies of the category of non-scheduled banks. Of these 988 were registered in Bengal, 252 in Madras, 52 in Assam, 40 in the U. P., 36 in the Punjab and 26 in Bombay. Under the existing Companies Act a banking company has been defined as one which carries on as its *principal business* the accepting of deposits of money on current or otherwise, subject to withdrawal by cheque, draft or order notwithstanding that it engages in addition in any or all of certain specified forms of business. The result of this new interpretation has been that a large number of companies, particularly in Bengal, have maintained that deposit banking is not their principal business and their contention has been upheld by the courts. Thus as non-banking companies they have succeeded in evading compliance with the provisions of Section 277 inspite of the fact that deposit banking is an important side-line of their business, if not their principal business. Moreover, under Section 277G (I) a company registered prior to the 15th January, 1937, may continue to use the words 'bank,' 'banker' or 'banking' as part of its name without complying with the special provisions relating to banking companies. Thus the net result has been that companies undertaking deposit banking among other forms of business have been evading the law by being recognised as non-banking companies, while many of the banking companies, properly so-called, have been outside the purview of the special provisions of the company law relating to banking companies. The extent of evasion is realized from the fact that out of 1421 companies which might be considered as doing banking business, only 626 were submitting reserve returns in December, 1938. In December, 1937, the total paid-up capital and reserves of these banks amounted to about

Rs. 2 crores, which gives an average of Rs. 25,000 per institution. It is quite clear that these are small institutions run on an uneconomic scale which are particularly vulnerable and require control and regulation in the interests of the depositors. There is no doubt that such evasion should be prevented and that it should be possible to protect the small depositor by ensuring a minimum standard of efficiency and integrity in the conduct of banking business. When a bank fails to meet its liabilities the economic loss should not be estimated only in terms of the deposits and paid-up capital lost ; the full measure of the loss can only be computed when we take account of the loss of credit or confidence which undermines the habit of depositing money with the banks and prevents the nation from mobilising, liquifying and augmenting her capital resources. From this point of view a bank is almost a public utility concern which has to be controlled and regulated in the public interest.

It is no less necessary to regulate and control the activities of the larger non-scheduled banks. The debt legislation passed by some of the Provincial Governments seeks to control the money-lending practices not only of the individual money-lenders but also of the non-scheduled banks. The latter have been trying to evade the law by somehow reaching the five-lakh limit so as to be recognised as scheduled banks. This has increased the difficulties of the Reserve Bank, because such banks have been continuing their money-lending practices and refusing to modernise their methods and keep proper accounts.

The proposed scheme of banking legislation seeks to tighten up the law by laying down a clear and definite definition of banking. It suggested that banking should mean "the accepting of deposits on current account or otherwise subject to withdrawal by cheque." Here a bank is taken to mean a cheque-paying bank—the criterion is not whether deposit banking is the principal business or not. The criterion suggested is easy to apply, but the framers of the law must make sure whether there are methods of withdrawing current account deposits and saving deposits which may not be tantamount to 'withdrawal by cheque' according to the definition of a cheque given in Section 6 of the Negotiable Instruments Act of 1881. Under the proposed scheme the co-operative banks are excluded from the operations of the Bank Act. There is no doubt that co-operative banks are as vulnerable as the non-scheduled banks, and in any case, the exemption

to be enjoyed by them is bound to lead to unsound development of co-operative central banking by encouraging money-lending practices. The hands of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies should be strengthened by putting co-operative central banks on a par with the non-scheduled banks. Unless this is done the Reserve Bank will never be able to link itself with co-operative agricultural finance. It is obvious that co-ordination of Central and Provincial legislation is essential in this sphere of economic planning.

In Section 4 of the draft bill there is an attempt to limit the activities of a bank by specifying certain forms of business to be permitted to a bank, while elasticity is provided by vesting the Central Government with the power to specify, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, any other business in addition to forms of business laid down by law. From the economic point of view one would take exception to two forms of business to be permitted to a banking company. Company promotion and providing industrial finance directly or by under-writing industrial issues, or through the instrumentality of syndicates (Sub-section 6 of Section 4) are undoubtedly fruitful causes of financial instability and bank failures. If it is considered necessary that institutions going by the name of banks should not undertake other forms of business and that they should be forced to give up money-lending practices, there is no reason why they should be allowed to embroil themselves in industrial finance. It is far better to confine deposit banking to short-term finance, which means liquidity and safety of deposits, than to encourage the combination of banking with trading and industrial finance and then to ensure the safety of deposits by statutory safeguards. The sub-section 6 should, therefore, be deleted and sub-section 4 should be suitably re-drafted so as to permit the participation of banks only in state and municipal loans. Similarly one would take exception to sub-section 7 of Section 4. It is high time that restrictions were imposed on granting loans on the security of real estate and on investments in real property. The premises held by a bank for its own use must, however, be exempted subject to the condition that the value of such property shall not exceed 20 p.c. of its capital and 50 p.c. of its reserve. If it is impossible to prohibit loans on the security of real estate there should at least be a provision in the bill to the effect that a bank may not acquire real estate (excepting premises) except as a result of fore-closure and it must be sold so soon as it is possible to do so without loss.

The sub-section 16 of Section 4 should be subject to certain essential provisos. It is necessary to ensure that only *bonafide* mergers meant to secure a broader basis of banking business are allowed. Otherwise there may be mergers of actually or potentially insolvent banking companies, or mergers of essentially money-lending banking companies may be formed for the purpose of some how reaching the five-lakh limit and being counted as scheduled banks.

When we look to the capital structure of the non-scheduled banks we are convinced that most of them lack adequate capitalization.) Of 1084 banks in the category B as many as 850 have paid-up capital and reserves of Rs. 20,000 or less. Of 236 banks in the category A, which are bigger in scale, as many as 200 have paid-up capital and reserves of Rs. 2 lakhs and less. Now the fairly large number of banks in the category B is explained by the fact that the Companies Act has prescribed a minimum paid-up capital of Rs. 50,000 only for banks incorporated after the 15th January, 1937. (It is urgently necessary that these banks should expand their capital structure at least up to the minimum prescribed by the Companies Act.) But the question is whether the statutory minimum itself is too low. The Board of the Reserve Bank have proposed that a banking company should be permitted to commence business if it has a minimum paid-up capital and reserve of Rs. 1 lakh. If the bank does business at Calcutta or Bombay the minimum should be Rs. 5 lakhs, and if it does business at places with a population of over 1 lakh, it should be not less than Rs. 2 lakhs. On the other hand, a bank should not be allowed to operate outside the province or state in which it has its principal place of business unless the minimum is at least Rs. 20 lakhs. "These will all be subject to the over-riding minimum of Rs. 20 lakhs." One wonders if these provisions will not be too drastic and will not seriously cripple and discourage small-scale banking enterprise in regions where banking facilities are inadequate and where banking has to struggle against the small average turn-over of business and the insecurity of its basis. As things are, it cannot be said that smaller banks have been obtaining an inadequately large proportion of loanable funds from deposits as compared to the amount obtained from paid-up capital and reserves. While the percentage of paid-up capital and reserves to deposits is 6 per cent in the case of British joint-stock banks and 13 per cent in the case of Indian scheduled banks it is 20·9 in the case of the

non-scheduled banks of the category A and 23·11 per cent in the case of those in the category B.

The minimum capital requirements based on population are hardly exacting in comparison with the minimum requirement of Rs. 1 lakh in the case of smaller banks. I would propose that, in addition to capital requirements on the basis of population, every bank must have a paid-up capital and reserve equal to 10 per cent of its deposits up to Rs. 50 lakhs and 5 per cent of its deposits in excess of this. Such a provision would make due allowance for the increasing turn-over of capital in the case of larger banks situated in the bigger commercial and industrial centres and for the increasing economies of large-scale banking operations in respect of the area served and the type of industry financed. Moreover, I suppose that if a suggestion like this is adopted, banks will tend to adjust themselves to a proper scale of operations according to local conditions. It is necessary, however, to ensure that paid-up capital and reserves do not carry losses or doubtful, frozen and encumbered assets. It may be considered whether they should be held in the form of Government securities, or at least may not be held in certain kinds of long-term assets. On the other hand, forcing the pace of expansion of capital structure in the manner proposed will not be in the best interests of Indian banking.

It is proposed that the subscribed capital of a bank should not be less than half of its authorised capital and that its paid-up capital should not be less than half its subscribed capital. I think that the fact that 50 per cent of the subscribed capital has been paid up should be assured by the money being temporarily deposited with the Reserve Bank. There is a safeguard like this in the Canadian banking legislation. I would very much like to see a bank starting with a clean slate without a part of its paid-up capital or even its unpaid capital already encumbered or mortgaged. I feel the safeguard suggested above is necessary in the interests of the depositors.

In this context I would venture to make a few suggestions relating to the responsibilities of share-holders and directors of banking companies. I am convinced that the responsibilities of share-holders and directors of banking companies should stand on a special footing. On the lines of the Canadian legislation I would suggest that shares should be held subject to what is known as double liability, *i.e.*, in the event of the bank's assets being insufficient to repay its debts, a

share-holder should be liable for the deficiency to the extent of an amount equal to the per value of his shares in addition to any amount unpaid on such shares. I feel that the responsibilities of the directors should be more strictly defined by law. I may suggest that directors should be made personally responsible if dividends are declared impairing the capital. They should be made personally responsible for loss due to proved negligence or evil intent. They should be liable for the repayment of credits granted to officials and to persons and companies connected with the bank unless certain conditions are complied with before the loans are granted. They should not be allowed to manage or direct finance companies of the managing agency type.

The Section 9 of the draft bill provides that out of the declared profits of each year and before any dividend is declared a sum equal to not less than 20 per cent of such profits shall be transferred to the reserve fund until the amount of such fund is equal to the paid-up capital. This section is satisfactory so far as it goes, but I would insist that no division of profits in any shape exceeding 6 per cent per annum should be permitted unless the reserve fund equals 50 per cent of the paid-up capital.

We shall consider next the demand liabilities and time liabilities of the non-scheduled banks in relation to the cash reserves maintained by them. Under Section 227 L of the Companies Act non-scheduled banks are required to maintain cash reserves which should in no case fall below 5 per cent of their demand liabilities and 1½ per cent of their time liabilities. The non-scheduled banks have not only been complying with the statutory minimum but also showing an excess of cash over the statutory minimum. But it is the analysis of the nature of liabilities that reveals the real character of small-scale joint-stock banking in India. Time liabilities constitute about 78 per cent of the total liabilities in the case of the non-scheduled banks of the category A and about 41 per cent in the case of the banks of the category B. Time liabilities are more than twice the demand liabilities in all provinces, except Bombay, Sindh and N. W. F. P., the proportion being still higher in Bengal, Madras and the Punjab. The proportion of average demand liabilities per bank to time liabilities is one to three, whereas in the case of the scheduled banks the proportion is roughly the same. The conclusion that emerges is that a large number of non-scheduled banks are really money-lending institutions

specialising in long-term deposits.) Moreover, while in Britain 20 to 21 per cent of the deposits is invested in money at call and in bills including Treasury Bills, only 6 per cent is so invested in Indian scheduled banks and none in the Indian non-scheduled banks. Again while 30 per cent of deposits in Britain is invested in marketable securities, shares, etc., and 50 per cent is so invested by the scheduled banks in India, the amount of such investments is only 20·6 per cent in the case of the non-scheduled banks of the category A and as low as 10·8 per cent in the case of those of the category B. The contrast appears in very bold relief when we compare the extent of loans and advances. The percentage of loans and advances to deposits is 40 in the case of British banks and Indian scheduled banks, while the non-scheduled banks of the category A invest as much as 83·7 per cent and those of the category B as much as 96·9 per cent of their deposits in loans and advances. It must also be noted that these two classes of banks invest 6·7 and 3·1 per cent respectively in immovable property. The general impression that we gather is that non-scheduled banks generally utilise most of their funds in loans and advances and have very small investments in gilt-edged securities. A considerable portion of their loans is unsecured, bill business is not favoured, advances to directors loom large (in some cases 50 per cent) and the incidence of bad, doubtful and decreed debts also appears to be heavy in some cases. The compulsory liquidation proceedings regarding the Benares Bank recently revealed to us the danger spots in Indian joint-stock banking. It appears that the liabilities of this bank on fixed deposit, current and savings bank accounts were about Rs. 75 lakhs. Of this sum Rs. 23 lakhs representing current accounts and savings bank deposits were withdrawable on demand, a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs on fixed deposits was overdue, and the whole of the balance amounting to Rs. 40 lakhs was due within a period of about two years from May, 1939. In addition to other current liabilities the bank was indebted to its employees' provident fund to the extent of about Rs. 98,000 which was secured by Government securities of the face value of Rs. 25,000 only. On the other hand, on May, 1939, the liquid assets of the bank amounted to *barely Rs. 3 lakhs*, while it had outstanding loans against its own fixed deposit account or other tangible securities to the extent of Rs. 10 lakhs, and other outstanding loans of Rs. 67 lakhs. Nothing reveals more clearly the frozen character of the bank's assets and the hopelessly low proportion of liquid assets.

Hence in view of the fact that the minimum cash reserve laid down by law is not enough to ensure 'general liquidity,' which means the ability of a bank to meet exceptional demand and not merely the normal demand for the withdrawal of deposits, it is necessary to provide for a minimum degree of general liquidity. It is intended to achieve this aim by Section II of the draft bill which runs as follows: "every banking company shall within two years after the commencement of this Act maintain in cash or unencumbered approved securities valued at a price not exceeding the market price an amount which shall not at the close of the business on any day, be less than 30 p.c. of its time and demand liabilities in India and Burma"..... "provided that a balance maintained by a scheduled bank with the Reserve Bank under the provisions of section 42 of the Reserve Bank of India Act shall be deemed to be cash for the purposes of this section." It is also provided that banking companies must maintain 75 p. c. of their British Indian liabilities in the form of assets in British India.

(It is necessary to estimate critically the practical utility of Section 10 (which embodies Section 227L of the existing Companies Act) and Section II of the draft bill which provides for a minimum liquidity of assets. The utility of Section 10 is very limited. There is no definition of 'cash' anywhere. It may be interpreted to mean either a balance with the Reserve Bank or coin and notes, and may be held in either or both forms, or alternatively a given percentage may be kept in the form of coin and notes and the rest as a balance with the Central Bank. In many countries cash has been taken to mean readily realizable assets and is kept in a more varied and less liquid form. In India for want of a statutory definition of 'cash,' the cash reserve very often consists of encumbered assets.) This fact has been recognised by the framers of the draft bill, and that is why Section II provides for a minimum general reserve which shall be unencumbered and ensure the general liquidity of a bank. (From this point of view I do not think that Section 10 will serve any useful purpose. Secondly, the strict enforcement of a statutory cash reserve leads to the paradoxical result that in times of crisis the immobilized cash reserves (unless released by suspending the law) increase the illiquidity of the banking system. Thirdly, as the Committee on Bank Reserves of the Federal Reserve System pointed out, the cash reserve should be related not to the mere volumes of time and demand liabilities but

to the velocity of circulation of demand deposits: other things being equal, a bank requires a higher margin of cash when its deposits have a higher rate of turn-over. Hence the distinction between time and demand liabilities should be abolished. If the statutory provision as regards cash has to be retained I think that Section 10 should be so amended as to require a bank to keep a cash reserve of 5 p. c. of its net deposit liabilities plus, say, 50 p. c. of the average daily withdrawal of deposits. This is a suggestion of the Committee on Bank Reserves which should be carefully considered. Moreover, if this Section is not to remain a dead-letter a clear definition of 'cash' is indispensable.

While I support Section II I must make my position absolutely clear. It appears from statistics that the non-scheduled banks are mainly money-lending institutions with a predominance of time liabilities, so that liquidity of assets is not necessary to the same extent as in the case of the larger commercial banks with a predominance of demand liabilities. As Wagner says, "a bank should only give the same kind of credits as it accepts.[3]" From this point of view the banking business of the non-scheduled banks easily lends itself to long-term investments on the one hand and comparatively low liquidity of assets on the other. Hence, as things are, it is the weaker among the scheduled banks situated on the border-line (the case of the Benares Bank is a glaring instance in point) that require liquidity of assets much more than the small non-scheduled banks. One cannot but feel in the face of facts that Section II will be onerous for small banks as reducing their chances of making profits. But still one may welcome Section II because it is necessary to compel the non-scheduled banks (or as many of them as possible) to switch over from time liabilities to demand liabilities, give up their money-lending practices and evolve into full-fledged commercial banks.

We shall discuss now how defaults are to be penalised. The suggestion is that the defaulting party shall be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 500 for every day during which the default continues. In addition the Reserve Bank shall demand compliance with regulations within one calendar month from the date of such demand, after which, if the company fails to comply with the law, the Reserve Bank shall apply to the court for compulsory liquidation. There is no doubt that the existing provision for penalties under sub-sections (3) and (4) of Section 42 of the Reserve Bank of India Act is inadequate for ensuring

a proper enforcement of obligations. [1] With reference to the Benares Bank case Mr. Justice Braund recently observed that " it was common ground that the bank had failed to maintain this deposit and has preferred to pay penalties and penal interest. The bank seemed to have construed the Act as giving it an option either to make statutory deposit or to pay statutory penalties. This could only be described as an evasion of the Act." Hence it is necessary, as the Board of the Reserve Bank have suggested, that there should be a provision for an application for compulsory liquidation on the initiative of the Reserve Bank.

Rapidity of liquidation is also an essential line of reform. The existing provisions for calling meetings of creditors, appointing advisory committees and granting moratorium very often have the effect of delaying proceedings, making them unnecessarily expensive and ultimately injuring the interests of creditors. A moratorium should be granted only when the court is convinced that a bank has a reasonable chance of meeting its liabilities to the full in the near future, and, in any case, the moratorium should be granted only for a period of three or four months. In the Benares Bank case the High Court decided, in spite of the wishes of the general body of creditors, that a moratorium should not be granted because there could be nothing " more improper in the circumstances than to place the bank in a position to receive new money from depositors and out of it to pay off its old depositors." A genuine reconstruction scheme should, of course, be examined sympathetically by the courts, but a moratorium in many cases may be a hindrance rather than a help. It is also desirable that the Reserve Bank should be statutorily vested with the duty of official liquidator.

Banking regulation and control are ineffective without proper supervision and inspection. I do not agree with the Board of the Reserve Bank in thinking that we can safely rely on the development of responsible audit and accounting and hope for the best. It is necessary to create a Government department of inspection under the control of a superintending officer. This is absolutely essential if the proposed legislation is to have a reasonable chance of success. The function of the Inspectorate should be to ensure that proper banking

[1] By Section 42 of the Act every scheduled bank is required to maintain with the Reserve Bank a deposit equal to 5 p. c. of its demand liabilities and 2 p. c. of its time liabilities.

practices were being observed, and particularly to detect at an early stage transactions detrimental to the interests of depositors and share-holders, and by inspiring fear of detection and publicity, to prevent them. I do not think, as the Board of the Reserve Bank seem to imagine, that the responsibility of the Inspectorate will be a very heavy one in actual practice. It may, of course, be provided that the final appeal in cases of infringement shall lie with the courts. But there is no doubt that in the vast majority of cases banks will avoid the lime-light of publicity and will be extremely reluctant to appeal against the decisions of the Inspectorate. (We should hesitate to throw the responsibility of inspection and control upon the Reserve Bank because the Reserve Bank should be in the position of a colleague in relation to commercial banks at any rate in the present stage of its development. It should, however, be provided that the Inspectorate should work in liaison and collaboration with the Reserve Bank.)

(It should be noted that the draft bill does not contain any provision for controlling the activities of indigenous and private bankers. Under the existing conditions they are not amenable to such control and regulation as will bring them within the sphere of influence of the Reserve Bank by conferring on them the right of direct discount. The Reserve Bank can establish contact with them only through the system of intermediate credit, *i.e.*, through banks or *Shroffs* who will endorse indigenous paper and guarantee the loans made by the Reserve Bank. It would be presumed that the object of the proposed Indian Bank Act is not merely to protect the interests of the depositors but also to guide banking along right lines and thus enable the Reserve Bank to play a more active part in mobilising and augmenting the capital resources of the country by establishing a more intimate contact with the Indian banking system. When eventually this object is attained or is in the process of being attained, indigenous and private bankers will adapt themselves to the changing conditions and become more amenable to control and regulation. Already sharp money-lending practices are at a discount as the result of Provincial debt legislation, and if the Reserve Bank succeeds in establishing contact with co-operative finance the way will be clear for further progress along this line.)

RADHANATH RAY: THE HIGH PRIEST IN MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE

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THE modern age in Oriya literature bears the name and impress of one who, in spite of the engrossing duties that public service entailed on him, persisted in serving the literature of his province with a sincere devotion and remarkable tenacity, succeeding at last in lifting it out of its accustomed ways and bringing to it the glory and freshness of a new life. This remarkable achievement was possible because he had the gifts requisite for the work: his name was Radhanath Ray.

In considering the western influence in Oriya literature the most important figure before us is that of his. For more than forty years he shone in the firmament of the literature of his country, and the literature of to-day owes a good deal to his practice and principles. He was an educationist and the author of geographical treatises like *Bhūgola* (written jointly with Sivanarayana Nayaka and published from Balasore, 1877-78), and *Bhūgola-Sāra-Sangraha* (jointly with Bhimcharana Panda and published from Balasore, 1878). He had translated *Meghadūtam* into Oriya in 1874. Blumhardt also mentions a book of verses, *Kavitāvalī*, by Madhusudan Rao and Radhanath in 1876, published from Balasore. Next year we find *Kshetra-tattva* or a treatise on geometry, mensuration and surveying, jointly by Radhanath Ray and Shivanarayan Nayak, issued from Balasore in 1877. His *Ādarsa Prasnāvalī* was published in 1876 from Balasore, and the 2nd edition in 1878 (Blumhardt's Catalogue). But the important thing about him is not text-books made to order but creative writings of a high order. It is therefore necessary to treat his works in detail, and to dwell on specific instances of the influences of the times manifested in his writings.

If we put side by side an entire poem or a few lines from the Typical Selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. I, published by the Calcutta University, that is, any poem in the early and medieval period of Oriya literature, and some lines of Radhanath's *Mahāyātrā* we find at once a very great change. Though the words and the script are

the same yet there is an advance or enlargement of ideas and thoughts, accompanied by new powers and forms of expression. Let us consider the invocation of Radhanath's poem:

Pankajabāsini devi, utkala bhārati
Sāraḷe, ki kale, kaha. kurucuḍāmaṇi,
Suṇile yekāḷe vīra vārtāvahamukhe
Prabhāse yādabamkara, etc.

We at once perceive that we have left far behind us the simple verse machinery of the *Koili* poems, the vast background of the *Ramayan* as well as the complex prosody and the gorgeous imagery, sometimes reflected through verbal jugglery of the *chhāndas*. In short, we have come to a measure, blank verse (or verse without rhyme), which was at first regarded with suspicion as foreign to the spirit of Indian languages. Strange as it may now seem, it was persistently believed that our national poetry could not be dissociated from the jingling of rhyme because as a nation we are musically disposed. It was Michael Madhusudan Datta of Bengal who first showed that the new form hallowed by Milton in English literature was quite capable of being adapted to the needs of the vernaculars of India and Radhanath followed in his wake and wrote blank verse in Oriya. Madhusudan Rao, Radhanath's life-long friend in literature and other matters, pointed out his friend's contribution in this respect in the preface that he wrote to the poem:—"Utkala kāvyare amitrachhandara prabartare ehi prathama shubhaprayāsa. Ethipurve bangīya kavivara srī Māikel Madhusūdan Datta bangalā padyara unnati au niyama ālochanā kari ethi ruchiku pravartita karithile—Kavi Rādhānāthanka chhanda annakauṇasi utkalīya lekhaka ehi chhāndara yathāyatha prayoga bishayare dakkhatā dekhāi pārināhānti."

"This is the first happy attempt to introduce blank verse in Oriya poems. Before this, the Bengali poet, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, introduced it to Bengali after carefully weighing the nature and laws of Bengali poetry.....Excepting the poet Radhanath, no other Oriya writer has been able to show a capacity for correctly using this measure."

Apart from the measure, what strikes us at the very outset is that the dedication in the first few lines is addressed not to any orthodox deity in an orthodox fashion but to an orthodox deity, the goddess Sārala, in a new fashion, which reminds one of Milton's devout

prayer to the heavenly Muse in the third book of the Paradise Lost to help him in his winged flight.

In the third place, in this narrative poem we are plunged directly into the action of the story, and this is also a new feature for which we might go to Homer or even to Milton, both of whom began their books with their important characters in a critical stage and unthreading the narrative informed their readers about the particulars of the gods or persons they were describing.

In the *Mahāyātrā* the poet was trying his hand at epic composition; not an epic in the sense of the Sanskrit Mahakavyas, nor might the term be applied to the *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat*, nor can we extend the term to include the purāṇas which contained materials for numerous epics. We shall discuss the matter so that the distinctive features of the new form which Radhanath wanted to introduce may appear in all its implications. When we consider everything, we have to conclude that it was unfortunate for Radhanath to have broken off before he came to the end, but it must be said that it was a remarkable attempt in spite of its obvious incompleteness.

The Sanskrit Puranas are lengthy compositions, purporting to be the chronicles of the world, so to speak. They contain germs of many epics, we find in them many epic ideas and situations which can be developed later on into full-fledged epic poems. Their canvas is vast, their characters are numerous, their grandeur is too grand even for epic representation in their entirety, we can break them piecemeal and then present the fragments to successive poets for exercising their talents upon. The Sanskrit *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat* are also lengthy compositions and serve in an equal measure as source books for epics. They contemplate recording the history of many important families but their aim is comparatively restricted to one definite and individual dynasty. The *Mahākāvyas*, again, have to conform to certain characteristics: there must be a hero, well-born, generous, and with his antagonist almost of the same calibre: there should be pleasant descriptions of hills and dales, mountains and groves, the seasons, etc.; there should be a fixed number of cantos, and the style and metre should not be monotonously uniform but there should be provision for a little variety. Let us however consider how the *Mahāyātrā* fares in relation to these rules. There is at least no variety of metre because it is in blank verse throughout. Of descriptions, to be sure, it has enough, and the hero's antagonist is not yet

to be seen sketched or outlined but we must remember that the work is an unfinished product, at the same time there is no scope for such a creation. The new note that may be detected and that increases the worth of the book is the patriotic motive and the patriotism of the sort is a tendency developed in us through our contact with the west. Along with this, there is a conscious modelling on literary products of Europe, on Virgil and Milton in particular, and in this modelling it is quite possible Radhanath's intimate acquaintance with the works of Michael Madhusudan, the Bengali Poet, may have helped a good deal.

An important feature of the poem is the place occupied by Orissa. There has been a new orientation in her physical geography.

Thus in the second canto the poet with consummate skill makes the Pandavas turn to Orissa in course of their 'final journey', which latter incident explains the title of the poem. His motive is to use his gifts in describing the topography of the country and extol its beauties and glories. The fire-god who receives the homage of the Pandavas lives in secret in the Nilachala and the lakes Saroh and Chilika are but remnants of the ocean which receded at the order of the ocean god, after it had flowed into the shore when the Sudarsan Chakra sank down into the sea. Hence more importance attaches to Chakratirtha at Puri, and the name of the country itself receives a new interpretation. It may be a digression, but at the same time it is proper to observe here, that Radhanath's poem Chilika is composed in couplets which are sometimes non-stop verses and the poem is in itself a new type, due to western models ; a topographical poem in its entirety, full of minute touches of description, with an independent interest of its own.

The whole of the third canto consists of poetic descriptions of Orissa: the coast of the Mahanadi flowing in the east, the mount Kapilas and the mount Malyavanta, all hoary with time and threaded by streams. The fire-god takes the Pandavas round the different territories acting as their guide. Even such ordinary place-names as *Tangi* are idealised by a legendary touch and an air of popular philology. What is remarkable in these descriptions, in which the poet frequently indulges recurring again and again to the historical and natural grandeur of the land, is an attempt at reconstructing the Pauranic legends, at associating every inch of Orissa with something hallowed in history or religion. It seems that Radhanath studied Utkal pretty much in the same way as Scott studied Scotland, the *motif* of poetry

is directly or indirectly patriotic, and the result is to be seen in details of workmanship.

In the next canto (the fourth) we are introduced to the Kaliyuga which has just begun, and which could be visualised by the Pandavas because of their pure nature:

Sattvagunojjvala eka tumbhara locane
Bhātiba se divya jyoti.

"Only before your eyes, bright with the virtue of truthfulness,
Will flash that divine light."

Before them lay the assembly of gods—Dharma, Satya, Nyaya, Tapaḥ, Sama, Daya, Saucha, Titiksha, Arjaba, Padmalaya, Saraswati—all these are described in a concrete form and a vivid manner with the additional statement of a prophecy that these gods will disappear, and India, the land of Bharat, will pass through very rough times. It might be pointed out in this connection that in this metaphorical description of the gods and goddesses Radhanath does not take his stand on legendary history but his basis is a new puritan philosophy which is more or less made free by western influence and in which Dharma, Sāhasa, Satya, Nyāya, Tapaḥ, Saucha, Titikshā, and Arjaba are decked out in human form in characteristic poses. Such free handling of the divine assembly cannot be wholly attributed to a thoroughly conservative temperament, and Radhanath in his poetic craftsmanship certainly looks away far from inherited literary tradition. This view is confirmed by the figures of Lust and Anger, Avarice and Illusion, Pride and Murder, Jealousy and Falsehood, Deception, Faction and Sloth that are next introduced, and it is to be remembered that the stage is always confined to Bharata on which there is a free fight resulting in the overthrow of Dharma and the victory of Kali. Let us conclude an account of this canto with its last five lines which remind the reader of the Bengali poet Hemchandra's recurring note on India's moral degradation at the present day, though the natural phenomena of the country continue to be the same as before:

sehi des'a, sehi giri, sehi nadanadī
nagara, nagarī, tīrtha, āsramadi kari,
sarve thile purvapari. mānabe kebala
nāmare mānaba rahi, pasu ṭhāru hīna
hoi jibi jugadharme bharata mandale.

"The same country, the same hills. rivers and streams the same,
Cities and towns, holy places and hermitages,

Everything shall continue as before, man only
Worse than a beast, human only in semblance,
——A strange result of the time-spirit in the land of Bharata."

Western influence on the remaining cantos of the poem is mainly contained in a new appeal to patriotism which modifies the tone of court poetry. In the tribute of praise justly offered by the poet to Ramchandra Bhanja, the Chief of Mayurbhanja State, which begins the fifth canto, a puritanic note is heard. There is something new in poetry when praise is given to sexual restraint and beneficent rule of the Chief, far removed from the half-adulatory, half-amatory verses associated with the poet's homage to things, and though the ideal of Ramchandra, the hero of the Ramayana, may be brought forward as the possible source of this eulogy (whence this similarity in name) one would like to trace it to our newly awakened idea of responsible government. Western or eastern, this portion is however merely dedicatory. In the main body of this canto we find Yudhisthira very much perturbed over the ills of Bharatabhumi. He feels like one whose own house has suddenly caught fire:

Daive jebe dekhe banhi atumancha tale
gruhapati, kātara se huai jesane.....

"When perchance the master of the house,
Descries fire beneath the eaves, grief seizes
His heart, similarly....."

Eagerly he asks the Fire-God with tears in his eyes:

.....Prabhu, trikāla darasi
tumbhe jenu, kaha mote kirupe bhārate
ghatiba e mahānartha sujalā, suphalā
e sasyasyāmalā dharā parahāte dei
parapadānata ki he hebe āryyasute ?

"Lord, all the time and all the space
Stands revealed to our gaze ; tell me how
This calamity will fall on India. This country,
Of beautiful streams and herbage, will the Aryan line
Give it up to others and live as slaves ?"

The reply that Agni gives to this query shows with what avidity the poet must have imbibed the knowledge of Indian History from western sources. He would trace all the evils of India, including her polititical servitude, to the loss of her spiritual fire which went out

just as Brahminism rose and snuffed the soul out of her by laying over a huge burden of rituals and ceremonies. The whole world seemed to be couped up within the four corners of India, untouchability spread like a curse and a pestilence, and Lust and Sloth and Jealousy made the land an easy prey to designing foes. Radhanath attacks the educational system built on the aphorism of Chanakya—slokarūpe sikhāibe ehi bhīru nīti—" this cowardly temper will be taught through slokas "—and he also looks askance at the different provinces on account of their provincialism—ākhyāye pruthaka mātra, rakte sarve eke—" separate only in name, equal in blood they are all."

As has been already said, besides the *Mahāyātrā*, Radhanath wrote a number of small romances,* all in the manner of Byron's verse tales. *Kedār-Gourī, Chandrabhāgā, Nandikeswarī, Ushā and Pārvatī*, these five form a class by themselves. Of these, the first is a simple tale of love between two young people, boy and girl, that grew and lived side by side, and it is most pathetic in its tragic end. The two lovers made an appointment but there was a tiger lurking near the *rendezvous*, resulting in a misunderstanding and consequent consecutive suicide by both. There is hardly any room for doubt that Chaucer's *Pyramus and Thisbe* (*Legend of Good Women*) acted as the model to this denouement, though there are many fine touches throughout the poem, illustrating the poet's art and originality and the susceptibility of an Oriental. As it happens, the name is taken from a well-known spring at Bhubaneswar, which is described in the poem as the *rendezvous*, whence the name. The originality of the poet is amply borne out by many lines of Eastern imagery and local description; the reader may be at random referred to the calf-love between the boy and the girl, their beauty which had made each suited for the other, their resolution to go out into the world in the disguise of a monk and a nun, professing love (Premer sannyāsī sannyāsinī); the appearance of the girl first on the spot and her fright at the sight of a tiger dripping the blood of a stag just killed; the subsequent advent of Kedar who commits suicide, under a mistake, Gouri following suit.

So powerful and popular has been the poem of Radhanath that it has at once sunk into the mass mind; a stranger visiting Bhubaneswar may be regaled with the version of the name of the spring as

* Paramananda Acharyya's articles in the *Utkala Sāhitya*.

Radhanath gives it ; questions into the proper place may elicit the fact that what Radhanath wrote about it was wholly his own version. Pandit Artaballabh Mahanty utters a timely warning which might be interpreted into a censure, about such ways of misleading the public mind and changing legends.

Chandrabhāgā is another verse-tale. In it the heroine is the daughter of a sage named Sumanya. Her beauty attracts the sun-god who follows her with entreaties and solicitations but she does not relent, does not slacken her steps and she runs away from him in mortal terror. The god is, however, hot in pursuit and at last she is swallowed up by the sea. The discomfiture of the god is prompted by Kāmadeva (Cupid) who, reviled by him in contemptuous terms for his prowess, is ever on the watch, and shoots two arrows at the pair,—the arrow at the sun-god calculated to inspire love, and that at the maiden to inspire hatred. The denouement synchronises with the sudden ruin that overtakes the temple at Konarak, which thus acts as the *deux-ex-machina*, once so popular with a school of dramatists and novelists in Europe. In this instance also it should be carefully investigated how far the poet has invented and how far he has built on foundations already in existence. To one not acquainted with the local tradition it is very tempting to identify the story with the legend of " the God pursuing, the maiden hid, "—the story of Daphne and Appollo, rendered memorable in so many classical references. While Daphne was changed into a laurel tree at her urgent entreaties, the Indian girl's importunate pleadings to her mother resulted in her being changed into a small stream absorbed into the sea. As usual, Radhanath's local touches have made the poem into a new thing altogether by his numerous references to the religious faith and historical incidents of Orissa. The name of the poem is taken from a river that flows by Konarak and that has to be crossed by visitors from Puri to the now ruined, but most beautiful, temple dedicated to the sun-god. Radhanath has thus excellently woven together the local legend and its western counterpart so that the borrowing, as in all other cases where he is the maker, seems so natural.

Radhanath's *Pārvatī* * has been likewise compared to classical works and Shakespearean dramas ; the Iliad has been mentioned as having prompted the idea, and it has been discussed how far Parvati

* Paramananda Acharyya's articles in the *Utkaḷa Sāhitya*.

approximates to Aeschylus or Shakespeare. Radhanath may have borrowed from both; the ghost and the Ophelia incident may have been taken from Hamlet, and the Kanchuki from the watch of Aeschylus. But Radhanath takes for the basis of his work a description of some local customs and an account of the Economic Geography of the land. The incest—a father's passion for his own daughter on whom he begot a son—points to Shelley's *Cenci* as a possible ideal. The son was killed and the hungry mother starved to death with dark hints as to her having been made to feast on the corpse of her son. There is also the supernatural element, the tragic ghost of the much tried mother appearing before her mother for revealing everything in connection with the crime.

In considering Radhanath's Yayati-Keshari in connection with the western influence we notice the following which will be of interest if we remember the plot and treatment of a similar subject in Shakespeare's Cymbeline:

(1) A step-mother's aversion for the step-children.

(2) The twins, specially the sister Bimalā, habitated to the male dress and manly pursuits.

(3) Chance meeting at the temple.

(4) The prince takes a fancy to Bimalā in male attire but is disillusioned.

(5) Supernatural aid—the disguise and the night in the cave with Lalita.

(6) The secret gets out and the discovery of the intrigue.

(7) Yayati is charged and sentenced to death by the king.

(8) Yayati prefers death in a combat with seven best warriors because he is a Kshatriya.

(9) Divine intervention by dreams.

(10) Happy conclusion.

(11) Though *Sringar ras* or erotic sentiment prevails in Radhanath's Yayati-Keshari, yet it is not so extreme as it is in Upendra Bhanja, it suits our modern taste and our modern taste means a good deal of the influence of western taste.

Usha

The story of Usha is not by itself a direct imitation or a grafting of any western story or legend on a liberal scale, but it seems to have been taken largely from one of the annals of Rajasthan

compiled by Tod. In a country where primitive conditions exist, where hunting is a chief pastime, it is nothing surprising that a prince like Jayanta should come across a girl like Usha equally proficient in hunting and marksmanship: only this Usha must not be a princess but an ordinary village maiden though when her parentage will be examined, her noble birth will be evident to all. This is the way in which Tod has taken his story from local sources. The race item of the story has been taken from Greek legends ; compare " Atalanta's Race," when the same artifice was used to get rid of a superior rival. Neither the hunt nor the race can, with any shadow of reality, be associated with a princess of Orissa. The very idea is preposterous, but Radhanath in his usual way has created a new legend altogether, giving it a local colouring and associating it with local names and traditions so that it seems to be a thoroughly original poem ; for this, again, the constructive genius of Radhanath is responsible.

NANDIKESWARI

The story of the poem Nandikeswari has come to close grips with history; no longer are we troubled with legends and legendary accounts but with the dim beginnings of history where our tread is firmer and surer; but when we examine the poem, there is an astonishing similarity between the Oriya poem and Lord Byron's *Siege of Corinth* both as regards subject-matter and the measure of the verse. Surely the motive in the Oriya poem is not the same as in the English; Chodaganga is the conqueror, and his primary motive is the conquest of the country, not securing the hand of any lady, however rich and beautiful. Both the poems end with a sense of tragedy ; but while Alp in *The Siege of Corinth* is a human being given to love and hate, with whom all is fair in love and war, Chodaganga is a being of a superior order,—at least superior to the ' folly ' of love.

VENISANHAR

The inspiration was eastern but the form of expression was a western influence. Radhanath like all true sons of mother India followed the original Mahabharat in picking out the theme of his poem Venisanhar. But the mode of expression was western. He was of the times and acted according to the demands of his age. The modern age wanted to see the same old story of Mahabharat from a new angle

of vision and Radhanath supplied his Venisanhar to suit the new taste.

Radhanath had been the pioneer also in modern Oriya Kathā-Sāhitya. His Young Italian (*itālīya yuvā*) was first published in the *Utkal Durpun*, a Balasore paper, in 1877. He was the forerunner in this of Ramshankar, Jagamohan, Phakirmohan and others, whose novels and dramas have made notable contribution to modern Oriya literature. Ramshankar's *Kāncikaverī* (a drama) and *Vivāsinī*, (a novel) Jagamohan's *Bābāji* (a farce) and Fakirmohan's *Revatī* (a story), all appeared after 1881.

Radhanath has been silent these thirty three years almost ; his voice has stopped through death. The impulse which he roused in the literature of Orissa has not found an equally fertile soil, but may be seen in the verses of some of his younger contemporaries like Sadhucharan Roy, Nandakisore Bal, Chintamani Mahanty. Sadhucharan died young, but he had shown sufficient promise of poetic worth before his death, and had received encouragement from the senior poet ; Nandakisore distinguished himself in historical and nature poetry, and Chintamani still lives, to offer model and guidance to younger generations. Poetry is cultivated, and still prevailingly, along western lines of culture, but the rosy dawn has faded away and along with it the promise of infinite greatness, or more properly, grandeur.

Radhanath's life has not yet been published: it is in the press and under the excellent supervision of his gifted son. It should prove a compendium of useful knowledge for the Orissa of his times. The publication of his biography, suitably documented, should introduce the romantic emergence of modern Oriya literature out of nebulous conditions into clear outlines, at the same time that it will give valuable information to all students of modern Indian literature.

A SPIRITUAL VISION

A REVIEW OF *THE LIFE DIVINE** BY SRI AUROBINDO

MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR

"AS Life and Mind have been released in Matter, so too must in their time these greater powers of concealed God-head emerge from the involution and the supreme Light descend into us from above." This is the concrete promise given at the end of the Life Divine by Sri Aurobindo. In this book he gives the philosophy of life and spirit and with the insight of a seer sketches a new spiritual fulfilment and consummation. The structure breathes a life all its own and is a piece of artistic creation, philosophic thinking, and profound spirituality. Its organic character is evenly maintained; the creation is inspired by a vision and sanctified by a consecrated life. Naturally, here is much more than intellectual philosophy and every page of the book carries the impress of thought oozing out of the fountain of spirit and of expression inspired by the spirit of poesy.

Thought and spirituality are not two distinct concepts, for the spirit is the only reality; and therefore, the life which spirit inspires is also that which sanctifies thought. Thought puts in a system what spirit realises in its two-fold adventure of self-explication and self-integration. Spirit exhibits its creative adventure and novelty in its concentrated expression through mind, life and matter. The graded universes in creation represent the descent of spirit from its transcendence into inconscient matter through mind and life. Behind this creative expression is the consciousness-will which is the supreme reality. Sri Aurobindo believes in Integral Existence, and does not dissect it into partial orders and study them in sections, like the psychic relativist or the realist. In these partial truths, he throws a light from a deeper insight which does neither reject matter nor accept the conclusion of materialistic monism or the unconscious creative vitalism. In matter he sees the descent of spirit. It is imperfect and incom-

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plete expression of it. " Matter expresses itself as eventually a form of some unknown force. Life too, that yet unfathomed mystery, reveals itself as an obscure energy imprisoned in material formulations." They represent the display of the primordial spirit energy in its graded expression. They are the objectification of will in the process of self-evolution. Matter and Life create bondage so long as we do not see the grand drama that is being played in the heart of existence behind their external crust. The adventures of the creative spirit can be felt if the mechanical vision is displaced by the spiritual insight. Matter is a temporary and apparent obscuration of spirit, in order that spirit can transcend it and display its formative function even in the lowest order of existence. " Matter is substance of the one conscious being phenomenally divided within itself by the action of a universal Mind." The occult insight reveals the creative force of spirit behind the physical and the vital universe and naturally the Upanishadic affirmation goes that Brahman is Annam and Prana. With the occult vision, the author has a more positive and affirmative attitude regarding the cosmic manifestation and naturally sees the continuity of the play through the subtler and wider ranges of existence in the mental, the over-mental and the supra-mental. The continuity comes up to the transcendent divine beyond the creative rhythm in its own dignity of poise. Naturally it is not possible to accept the revolt of spirit against matter or to give consent to the 'nihil' of Buddhism. Reality is omnipresent in all graded universes wherein throughout extends the marriage of Spirit and Matter. Matter reveals itself to the realising thought and subtilised senses as the figure and body of spirit. Spirit reveals itself as the consenting agent, as the sole truth of the essence of matter. Matter is the external vesture that spirit takes up for its concrete expression through the different layers of existence. The higher ascents give us the more luminous vision of matter for the better and more effective expression of spirit. Thus Matter and Spirit are reconciled in the creative plane. This sets aside the long-standing conflict between Prakriti and Purusha and the limitation of Spirit by Matter. " The transcendent, the supra-cosmic is free in itself beyond Time and Space and beyond the conceptual opposites of finite and infinite. In cosmos it uses its liberty of self-expresion." Limitation there is, but this limitation is self-imposed, for the novelty in the creative adventure of Spirit. The process of self-evolution and self-

explication is followed by the simultaneous process of self-involution and self-integration. They run concurrently. Without this there would have been the immersion of Spirit in Matter. Maya or Ignorance cannot work in complete oppositiont o self-revealing process. There is still the twilight of Spirit which sheds its soft lustre. Nowhere the spirit loses its self-reference and this makes the higher evolution possible. The light looms large in the centre of being ; there is, therefore, an inherent urge in all the grades of existence to absorb more and more this light in order that the life can have more elasticity and radiant expression. The obscurity of matter is removed. The limitation of a divided consciousness and power is withdrawn. The urge of evolution is to realise the radiant self by throwing away the limitations of matter, by assimilating the light of spirit. This becomes clearly evident with the first awakening of the occult insight. It exhibits the luminous matter which instead of obscuring spirit becomes its helpmate in its expression and movement.

There is an incessant urge in evolution to get access into the finer orders of existence than matter, life and mind. The emergent next to mind is Supermind, beyond that is the Divine existence, consciousness and bliss. These are involved in the triple forces of the lower order. Evolution makes manifest what is potential. The potential is the more powerful, because it is more true and subtle, its actual is realised when the insight is developed. There is always the consenting knowledge and deciding force behind which uplifts the evolution to still subtler grades, and maintains all along the luminous thread of intimate connections between all of them. Evolution does not mean the sudden emergence of any thing completely new but the unfolding, or better, the appearance of the subtler, the wider and the more comprehensive existence. The next step in emergence is supermind. It is a great promise. The emergence of the supermind into our consciousness will be a momentous event as it will fundamentally change the truth and the value of mentalised knowledge. Our being is a seat of refraction of the divine existence in inverted order of ascent and descent of the following principles: Existence, consciousness, bliss, supermind, mind, psyche, life and matter.

The divine descends from the pure existence through consciousness, force, bliss and the creative medium of supermind into the world of mind, psyche, life and matter. The meeting-place of the divine

Saccidananda with the world of mind, life and matter is the Supermind. The veil of ignorance separates the supra-mental from the mental and the lower order. The rending of the veil is the condition of the divine life in humanity, it then makes possible the divine inpouring and divine fusion. The divine force is still in play in the lower orders, but the higher evolution keeps pace with the conscious inpouring from the supermind, when matter and life will yield their obscurities, mind its stumblings through divided visions and lame understanding.

" The liberation of the individual soul from its limitation is the keynote of the definitive divine action" and the emergence of the supermind is in a sense the emergence of the self-awareness of the individual as one with the divine. This is the supreme conquest of spirit over the confinement of the senses and the body. When the individual attains self-awareness and identity, " the liberated soul extends its perception of unity horizontally as well as vertically." The liberated soul is not lost in the transcendence, but gains in being both intensively and extensively in order that it can now reflect the cosmic spirit not only in the cosmic knowledge, but in the expansive orbit of being, feeling the intimate touch with each and everything and finally reviving and inviting them to the joyous existence in its widest commonalty spread. Man stands in intimate relation to the universe, and in this ascent to the higher evolution this relation becomes a matter of direct perception. He can influence the evolution of the human race by establishing the identity of spirit and imparting the force of spirit. This liberation is not the realisation of spirit as distinct from matter, life and mind. It is really the spiritualisation of the vehicles of spirit in order that spirit can enjoy its complete freedom in the order of expression just as it enjoys perpetually its freedom in transcendence. True freedom will be an existence in perfect harmony in the different parts of our composite being as well as in our relation with the universal or cosmic self. The constant influx of spirit-energy will fill our being, establishing a correspondence between the universal life-force with our life, the cosmic ideation with our ideation, the universal bliss with our bliss. Man will wake into the pulse of the cosmic and the supra-cosmic life, consciousness and being. The dualism of being and non-being, Purusha and Prakriti, knowledge and ignorance, life and death is not the fixed order of things. If it is, the proper attitude is to deny and transcend the dualism in Nirvana.

Sri Aurobindo thinks this dualism is the sequence to the divided vision which the mind of man unquestioningly accepts without probing deeper. The finer truth is that these are phases of the contraries which are reconciled in the higher vision of the Absolute, not only in thinking, but in actual life. With the fuller and the profounder view the limited vision of ego and its dualities melt away showing the path to the supreme fulfilment of life and not only to escape from life. This ego-construction is not possible to be set aside so long as the root of life is not discovered in the Absolute and the self-opening of the individual is not complete. The Absolute is not the eternal repose, wideness and silence. It is not the bare a-conceptual potentiality ; it has in it the perpetual urge for a creative expression. Consciousness is always associated with Will. Consciousness-Will is, as Sri Aurobindo puts it, is the ultimate reality. The old idea of force or energy as material is being discarded by science and philosophy. The ultimate reality is Siva-Sakti. Being and becoming, rest and impulsion, equilibrium and activity, status and dynamis represent the two aspects of an all-integral existence and to take note only of one of these is to court a partial philosophy. " The real is behind all that exists, it expresses itself intermediately in an ideal which is a harmonised truth of itself ; the ideal throws out a phenomenal reality of variable conscious-being, which inevitably drawn towards its only essential Reality tries at least to recover it." The integral truth is thus a spiral-like existence, exhibiting innumerable varieties, all linked up in an indivisible unity. The upward ascent makes exhibition of this integrity, the downward descent presents the reality in divisions and parts. Intellect dissects what is integral and cannot vouchsafe what is beyond mind, " throned in the luminous vast of illimitable self-vision." Intermediate between the transcendent one and the mutative many, there is the supermental wideness and effulgence which can reflect the transcendent existence and show the luminous link of connection between the supreme light of consciousness and its dim mental reflections. Mind is identical in essence with supermind and conceals in it the potentiality of supermind. Between the transcendent Truth-consciousness and the supra-mental Truth-consciousness there is this difference that in the Transcendent, idea and meaning, consciousness and will, bliss and consciousness, are not in the least differentiated ; in the supermind they exhibit their differential expression while maintaining their complete concord and integrity. " The supermind starts from

from unity, not division ; it is primarily comprehensive, differentiation is only its secondary act." The whole movement in the supermind is unitary and harmonious. It is not the synthesis of mind, the mental synthesis does never emerge into the direct vision of the all-comprehensive harmony with the total setting of existence in it. This all-comprehensiveness is the character of the supra-mental knowledge. Supra-mental knowledge is not like the mental knowledge analytically divided or relationally separate. Knowledge is knowledge by identity; not overriding distinctions but seeing them integrally in the total setting. "Mind in its essence is a consciousness which measures, limits, cuts out forms of things from the indivisible whole and contains them as if each were a part integer." Mind depieces what is otherwise integral and whole. Philosophy which has its basis on mind naturally creates divisions and antinomies and cannot rise above them by its inherent limitation. The depiecing tendency of the mind is checked by the supermind which is never devoid of the infinite extension of existence and which returns to self-vision and self-expanse lost to the mind. Because of this delimiting function of the mind, the self loses its integral vision of the supermind and its identity with it. Philosophy restores this metaphysical fall and reinstates the supermental wisdom which oversteps the mental vision of studying facts in their individual setting apart from the cosmic togetherness. The supra-mental knowledge mirrors the essential unity of things, the indivisibility of space, time and energy, and the divided appearances. The existence of supermind is a logical necessity, for the world which is an extension in space and time and not the working out of a blind force governed by a mechanical necessity, cannot be accommodated in the spaceless and timeless absolute. In its first movement it necessarily finds a place in Saccidananda "proceeding out of its primal poise or rather upon it as a base and in it as a continent, into a movement which is its form of energy and instrument of cosmic creation." In second poise of the supermind the divine realises itself as a stable conscious-self, and at the same time would realise itself as a concentration of conscious-self, supporting the individual play and upholding its differentiation from the other play of the movement—the same everywhere in soul-essence but varying in soul-form. This differentiation is practical, but not essential. In the third poise the supermind does not stand behind the movement but projects itself into it and is

involved in it. Here the unity is dominant. It is a dualism in unity, between the individual divine and its universal source. This does not make the unity prior to the multiplicity. "The eternal recurrence of the manifestation in Time is a proof that the divine multiplicity is an eternal fact of the supermind beyond Time no less than the divine unity."

The aspiring soul impelled by the secret urge of the everlasting unity and wideness of knowledge and being of the supermind attains redemption from the limited life of nature. But there must be and is the natural distinction between the one that has known the fall and the one that is redeemed. Such a soul would be "pure and infinite self-existence in its being: in its becoming it would be a free play of immortal life uninvaded by death, unclouded by ignorance." "It would be a pure and unlimited consciousness in its energy, poised in an eternal and luminous tranquillity as its foundation, yet able to play freely with forms of knowledge and forms of conscious power, tranquil, unaffected by stumblings of mental error and misprision of our striving will." It will live consciously, unerringly and simultaneously in the two terms of the eternal existence, the poles of the one and the many. It would be aware in itself of the self-concentration and the self-expansion of the infinite. The divine soul does never lose its awareness and its self-reference to the Infinite, and is a kind unique by itself, enjoying its own poise in the comprehensive and all-embracing harmony. Its knowledge and will will move in rhythm with the Supreme Will, for it represents the vaster movement in itself without reference to the restricting nature Its love and delight are the ecstasy of the supreme bliss. The Divine Soul in its complete unison in nature and being represents the type of fulfilment and perfection to which finite souls aspire.

The synthetic scheme is fully borne out when it is shown that the supermind is involved in life, with its basis in matter. The vital or life-impulse is not a force by itself or the primal force of the creation; it is "the dynamic play of the universal force, a force in which mental consciousness and nervous vitality are in the same form or at least in their principle always inherent and therefore they appear and organise themselves in our world as the form of matter." This life-force is everywhere, in all stages of being. The higher stages hold the secret to the lower.

There is the law of continuity working throughout the whole

existence which represents a heirarchy, all breathing the same life and moving with the same vital force. Mind-energy, life-energy and material energy are different dynamisms of the one cos mic force. " This conscious force, the Chit-Tapas of the Vedanta manifests itself as nervous energy full of sub-mental sensation in the plant." In the process of the emergence, the continuity is never disturbed and the lower order differs from the higher in concentration and limitation. The evolutionary urge is an urge to put off this limitation and philosophic wisdom consists in reading the whole creative structure in the light of a spiritual synthesis. Death and incapacity are possible because of the individuation of power and life. When the connection of the supreme source of life is kept up and the reinforcement continually taking place, they can be prevented. If the story of life in its descent is interesting, the adventure of life in its ascent is stimulating and inspiring, for here the promise is given of the revision of man's present state of existence and of assimilation of the supra-mental light and force. In the economy of existence life and consciousness do not stand still and move for a finer, more extensive expression, and for consciously enjoying their birth-right in spirit and immortality. Here is the true meaning of evolution. And naturally the human being cannot rest satisfied with his mental achievement and progress and must discover his true being not in mind, but in the next higher ascent in the supermind. The evolution of life through the sub-conscious end the conscious must be completed in the super-conscious. There is continuity between these stages of unfolding. The evolution of the next stages has a natural effect upon the prior stages, otherwise the formative development becomes difficult or almost impossible. The lower contains the seedling of the higher and superior life and fulfilment. Supermind is, therefore, only a natural expression in the evolutionary urge and development.

The emergence of the supermind is preceded by subtler unfolding of the higher mind, illumined mind, infinite mind, and overmind. These are the subtler expressions and formations of consciousness. Sri Aurobindo in his inimitable language compares " the action of the Higher Mind to a composed and steady sunshine, the energy of the Illumined Mind beyond it to an overpowering of massive lightnings of flaming sun-staff." Beyond still is the action of the Intuitive mind which reveals " a greater power of Truth-force and Truth-vision, Truth-thought, Truth-sense, Truth-action." At

the source of this intuitive Truth-vision, there is the Gvermind that covers the whole lower range of Knowledge-ignorance and at the same time connects with the greater Truth-consciousness (the Supermind) while concealing it from our vision by the brilliance of its golden veil. To the occult vision the over-mental soul is an actuality which "connects and divides the supreme knowledge and the cosmic ignorance. The Overmind is the delegate of the Supermind to the Ignorance. The Supermind transmits to Overmind all its realities, but it formulates them according " to the awareness of things which is still the vision of Truth and get at the same time a first presence of ignorance." The complete integral vision of the Supermind may be there, but the emphasis on aspects and their independent action endowing them with individualities and distinctions, makes the over-mental knowledge, intuitions and activity distinct from the knowledge, intuition and activity of the supermind. In the supermind the Divine Personality and the Impersonality, the one and the many, the multiplicity of the godheads are all integrated as a piece of mosaic structure ; in the overmind they are distincts, each a condition of separate action and development. The over-mental presentation is defective in the sense that it loses the corner-stone of the dynamic integrity of Being. The over-mental differences are not irreconciliables, they are correlatives. In the Supermind they are elements in the totality, breathing its life, enjoying its harmony and reflecting the ingress of the whole. The supra-mental vision is, therefore, the highest spiritual realisation, for it does not suffer the least incompleteness and presents Truth-consciousness in its integrity in the cosmic and the super-cosmic existence. It does not suffer from the over-mental Maya, the Maya of knowledge, yet a power which " has made the Ignorance possible, even inevitable." If each principle released into action must follow its independent expression and realisation, the principle of separateness and distinctness must assert itself. This is inevitable, for the overmind cannot rise above this limitation and appraise the still subtler course of movement in the super-mental setting. The ascent up to the over-mental soul is not considered enough, the final flowering of life emerges when the thin golden veil is withdrawn presenting the supreme Supra-mental light.

Intensive interest from the standpoint of the practical or applied spiritualism is created when the indications are given to trace out our relation to higher range of consciousness specially with supermind

to effect a divine transformation of our being. The supermind is not a new thing. It is the Vijnana of the Vedas, the Sadvidya of the Tantras. But what is unique in Sri Aurobindo's yoga is, his attempt to draw and establish the supra-mental force in the lower orders of existence. This part of his teaching is extremely delicate but most stimulating. Delicate it is, because it requires the intimate acquaintance with the psychic being. The psyche is a luminous existence directly connecting the higher ranges of our being with the lower. When it comes to the front, our inner being becomes transparently clear, throwing the purifying light even on the subconscious being. The secret to the access to the supra-mental is to establish a direct connection between the subconscious and the superconscious. Transformation becomes possible when the shining lights of the higher reaches of consciousness are reflected on the subconscious mind, the subconscious life, and the subconscious physique. The darkness and the ignorance which prevail in this part of being are removed by the light cast from above.

The emergence of the psyche is indicated by its silent and soft flame, with its pleasing and delicate vibrations through all the parts of being. This is the entrance to the path. If the psychic flame is kept up burning, the deeper currents of spirit emerging from the higher heights of existence possess us. The individual soul can open to the hidden diviner ranges of our being, can receive and reflect their light and power. But another, a spiritual transformation from above, is needed for us to possess our self in its universality and transcendence. By itself the psychic being at a certain stage might be content to create a formation of truth, good and beauty, and make that its station; at a further stage it might become passively subject to the world-self, a mirror of universal existence, consciousness, power, delight but not their full participent or possessor. The movement in spiritual life takes diverse course and expression with the variety of experience revealed to the psychic. It may lead to the static calmness, losing the individuality in the source, it can turn back from nature to the silent divine and supreme spiritual immobility, as it may be aware of the eternal companion and elect to live in divine concord and fellowship. These are the great achievements of the spiritual lives in the past, but a greater fulfilment is envisaged in the Life Divine in the higher experience of the supermind Truth-consciousness, where the opposites of the divine silence, and the divine dynamis are inte-

grated in the richest totality. Only after the descent of the supermind the supreme blessedness of spirit's movement as well as the spirit's silence is realised. Now arises the possibility of the spirit's descent into the world and of spiritualising the total movement of our being. With its perfect unity of truth-knowledge and truth-will it can establish in the outer as in the inner existence of the harmony of spirits, and can turn the values of ignorance into the values of knowledge.

Psychicisation, intuitivisation, over-mentalisation are the invariable accessories to super-mentalisation, when peace, light, bliss and power, fill us and move us. A divine life in manifestation is only "possible as the high result and ransom of our present life and ignorance. It is the inevitable outcome of nature's evolutionary endeavour and its final fruition."

The work as a whole presents the metaphysical as well as the spiritual conception of Sri Aurobindo. The metaphysical chapters are thought-provoking. He always refers to the unknown and unknowable as the background of the whole existence. It is the metaphysical Absolute beyond all contraries of thought. It cannot be categorised in any way either as being or non-being or as static or dynamic. This is significant. This is the spirit of the absolutistic Vedanta which characterises the Real as supra-conceptual. Though Sri Aurobindo has emphasised dynamic spirituality and the evolution of the world-process out of the primordial Sakti, still his metaphysical scheme has the appearance of accepting the nature of Reality as beyond categories of thought.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, LONDON, 1937-38

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The Report on the work of Education Department, London, for the year 1937-38 has recently been published. During this period the number of Indian students pursuing full courses at universities and colleges was 1,566 including 114 women students. Deputy High Commissioner for India remarks that the economic side of this exodus is not without significance. Assuming that the average annual cost of each student is from £250 to £300, the aggregate amount involved is not far short of half a million pounds or more than 66 lacs of rupees a year. It is, therefore, a matter of important national concern that India should derive the maximum benefit from this expenditure which is being incurred on the education of her students in the West. In quite a number of cases youngmen are being still allowed to leave India apparently with little or no idea of the exact purpose in mind or of the advantage or utility of the proposed study or training abroad and its reasonable prospect of leading to suitable employment. Many are eventually obliged to return to India disgruntled and embittered with no qualification for employment of any kind and often without the ability or desire to resume contact with the family life and the interests of their own people. Having regard to the expensive education in the West it is important if undue wastage is to be avoided, parents and guardians should consider seriously in consultation with Educational authorities in India and in England whether any real advantage would be gained by sending their children or wards abroad for further study. Things have however been gradually improving and it is satisfactory to note that in recent years there has been a notable increase in the number of Post-Graduate students as shown below :—

Year.	No.
1933-34	... 468
1934-35	... 486
1935-36	... 624
1936-37	... 662
1937-38	... 724

Post-Graduate students are better fitted for pursuing specialised courses of study which are not available in India and, generally speaking, they come to England after having proved their merit and capacity in India. The time which they have to spend here is comparatively short and the money spent on their education is also likely to be of considerable benefit to India.

The largest number of full time students was in the Faculty of Medicine in which 470 students were registered while Arts (including Education and Law) comes next with 385. Engineering and Technology

follow with 262 students and Pure Science and Economics with 169, 107 students, respectively. Agriculture had 94 students and 79 were studying various unclassified subjects. In addition to the full time students there were 212 others including 9 women in occasional courses in the different faculties.

Of the seven universities, *viz.*, Cambridge, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, the largest number was in the University of London. Out of 357 applications to the University of Cambridge only 45 were admitted and it is interesting to note that 4 students were awarded the Ph.D. degree, 2 the M.Sc., 1 the M.Litt., and no less than 5 students obtained first class in the Tripos examination. The newly introduced course for the diploma in journalism for the London University covering a period of academic years is now held at King's College, London, and there were a few applicants for this course. It is noteworthy to remark that applicants who have not already had journalistic experience or who have shown no aptitude for the work or no prospect in the suitable employment in that direction are not encouraged to join this course. The Local Adviser to the Indian students at Manchester reports that the work progress of the Indian students at Manchester have been generally satisfactory. For the University of Oxford, 72 Indian students were in residence during the year including 9 women and 18 I.C.S. probationers. Five students obtained the degree of D.Phill. and one B.Litt., while 2 obtained first class Honours in their final degree examinations. There were 174 students at Edinburgh of which 58 were in medical studies. The total number of students at the University of Glasgow was 24 and their progress was fairly satisfactory.

For the professional and practical training one finds more than half joining the M.B.B.S. degree of the London University. For students already possessing Indian medical qualifications registrable in United Kingdom desiring to take the final examination for the diplomas of L.R.C.P., M.R.C.P., awarded by the Examining Board in England, a period of 6 months of hospital clinical practice is usually found desirable and since the facilities for such are difficult to obtain in London the students usually go over to Edinburgh and other provincial universities. The West London Hospital, formerly a post-graduate school, has now been recognised for the clinical portion of the London University M.B.B.S. courses and specially the women students have availed themselves of this new arrangement.

For the Engineering and Technology Section 146 students were admitted in the different works for practical training in the following subjects:—

Civil and Municipal Engineering ...	18
Electrical Engineering	49
Mechanical Engineering	34
Railway Engineering	5
Railway Traffic	7
Aviation	10
Printing	1
Various other subjects	21
Total ...	146

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The Director-General, Indian Stores Department, actually helps the office in securing practical training in the different works for the students. He, however, remarks that a number of applicants submit an extensive programme of short periods to be spent at a number of works and he is of opinion that no real benefit could be derived by such schemes. The value derived from a comparatively lengthy stay in one works must be greater than that obtained from a series of casual visits and experience has shown that firms are not prepared as a general rule to regard such applicants as genuine students. It is however noteworthy to remark that majority of the students placed under training have given every satisfaction to their temporary employers.

The total number of Government scholars and other students under the supervision of the department was 160.

Three Royal Navy Cadets undergoing practical training at H. M. Dockyard, Portsmouth, satisfactorily completed the training and were appointed as Engineer Sub-Lieutenants in the Royal Indian Navy.

During the period under review the committee received £80 in small subscription and £200 from Indian revenues and £57-3-6 as interests and investments and £325-6-0 as repayments from previous recipients of loans. The committee helped 39 students with loans amounting to £586-7-6.

In the general observation, it is stated that there has been marked and progressive improvement in the general standard of Indian students who come to England to continue or to supplement their education. The various Heads of the departments, and teachers at the various universities and colleges, testify that the average run of the students during the last few years was decidedly better. In addition to nearly 250 students who obtained first degrees and diplomas (in many cases with first class Honours) at practically every university throughout Great Britain, noteworthy success in the post-graduate section is to be recorded. Three students gained the high degree of Doctor of Science, well over 50 the Doctorate in Philosophy (Ph.D.), 18 the degree of Master of Science, 6 the degree of Master of Arts and 10 the Master of Education. 5 Indian candidates secured first class in the Cambridge Tripos Examination including Wranglership. In Medicine and Surgery no less than 15 obtained the Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons, England (F.R.C.S.) and 7 including one woman the Membership of the Royal College of Physicians (M.R.C.P.), at Edinburgh, 15 students qualified for the F.R.C.S.(E) and 5 for the M.R.C.P.(E). 119 Indian doctors including 17 women doctors obtained post-graduate medical diplomas in various branches.

In the corporate and athletic life of their universities the part played by Indian students is indeed highly satisfactory. Though the gaining of academic degrees and qualifications may be the most important of their objectives, there is much of great value to be gained from active participation in the social and corporate life, in the debating halls, in the common room, or on the playing fields where they can freely meet and mix with their fellow students.

It is gratifying to note that the number of women students attending full time courses is gradually on the increase and there were 114 women students during the year under survey. The department has deputed a woman officer to look into the conveniences and other educational arrangements of these students.

Lastly, one has to remark about the international crisis which arose towards the end of the period covered by this report and just before the

opening of the current academic session when large number of students had newly arrived from India and there was considerable difficulty regarding their studies. The department tried its best to alleviate the worry and anxieties which inevitably arose not only among the students themselves but amongst their parents and people in India.

There are nine appendices supplying the various figures relating to the expenses, educational activities and educational successes of the students in the different branches of their studies.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad]

University for Assam

The appointment of Dr. S. K. Bhuyan of the Assam Education Service as a Special Officer in connection with the establishment of a University for Assam, is now gazetted. Dr. Bhuyan will draw up plans for the proposed university.

Employment Adviser's Scheme : Provision for Educated Young Men

The Employment Adviser to the Government of Bengal has, in co-operation with the various firms, factories and mills in Bengal, been able to work out a scheme whereby a few educated young men can start in a number of industries and trades as apprentices and then after a satisfactory period of training, get permanent employment therein.

Candidates are to apply on the prescribed form to be obtained from the office of the Employment Adviser by post (a stamped and addressed envelope must be enclosed). Only non-graduates (preferably matriculates and under-graduates) who are between 17 and 24 years of age are eligible to apply. Candidates must have good physique and must be prepared to do work involving heavy manual labour. They must also be prepared to work as ordinary mechanics, mistris and operatives.

When candidates have filled in the prescribed form, the Employment Adviser will call such candidates as appear *prima facie* suitable for an interview at his office at 8, Clive Street, Clive Buildings, Calcutta. As regards candidates from the mofussil he will arrange to interview them at the nearest district headquarters. Names will be entered on the Registers of the Employment Adviser's Officer only if candidates are found suitable in all respects.

Gandhiji's View on Higher Education

A recent interview which the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, had with Mahatma Gandhi is now officially announced.

It is stated that in course of the interview Gandhiji emphasised the need for Provincial Governments making higher education self-supporting in order to provide funds for primary education.

Muslim Education

The necessity for a Muhammadan Education Conference to examine the present educational condition of the Muhammadan community and to advise on any new programme for pushing the cause of education

amongst the community is stressed by Khan Sahib Ataur Rahman, Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muhammadan Education, in his department report for the last year.

In secondary schools, the Muhammadan rate of progress in education during the year was 6·1 per cent. against the general rate of 6·0. If Madrassahs, which were secondary, were taken into consideration the rate will be still higher. In primary schools the speed is as high as 8·1 per cen., the general speed being 6·0 per cent.

Training of Ladies in Co-operative Movement

A novel feature of the programme of expansion of the co-operative movement in the U. P. is the refresher course for lady supervisors of Co-operative Societies now being conducted at the Women's Institute, Lucknow.

The course is conducted in collaboration with the Co-operative Department and is not confined to instruction in co-operation alone. Subjects like domestic economy and child welfare, adult education, etc., are included in the curriculum.

Expert officers of the Co-operative Department and outsiders deliver lectures regularly on their own special subjects.

Muslim Education Committee

The Kamal Yar Jung Muslim Education Committee left for Wardha where they met Mahatma Gandhi and also saw the School of Basic Education, Wardha.

Interviewed, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, said that the Committee intended to see the Wardha scheme of education functioning in the place of its origin. He added much had been said against the Wardha scheme, specially by C. P. Muslims and the Committee discussed with local leading Muslims their grievances relating to the scheme but the Committee could make definite pronouncements thereon only after they had studied the scheme at close quarters and for which they were going to Wardha. They also intended to discuss with Mahatma Gandhi the Muslims' anti-scheme in the light of the questionnaire issued by the Committee and the information collected so far.

The Committee, after visiting various places in South India, is expected to conclude the tour by the end of June.

Digambar Jain College

The foundation stone of the Digambar Jain Intermediate College was laid at Baraut in Meerut by Mr. Tansukhrai Jain of Delhi before a large gathering.

This is the first college of Digambar Jains in India. The All-India Digambar Jain Parishad has extended its patronage to the college and appealed to the Jains all over India for funds for the college. Nearly Rs. 9,000 have already been collected including Rs. 1,000 from Mr. Tansukhrai Jain, and contributions promised amount to Rs. 7,000 so far.

Miscellany

HEALTH CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN JUGOSLAVIA

The Jugoslav health co-operative societies, which have been copied in various other countries, have made further progress in the last few years. At the end of 1938 there were 134 such societies in the country, 125 of which had in all 65,586 members. The report of the Union of Health Co-operative Societies for the year 1938-1939 shows that the societies are engaged in a great variety of activities.

During the year under review, the 95 medical practitioners employed by the societies attended 136,187 persons. The societies continued their fight against social diseases, such as tuberculosis, venereal disease, and malaria (10,230 malaria patients were treated), and against infantile mortality (2,780 infants, 2,505 children between 1 and 7 years of age and 6,043 children of school age were given treatment in the societies' dispensaries).

The societies run 25 "health houses," in 21 of which there are sick rooms. Four co-operative societies are equipped with radioscopic apparatus. The 69 chemists' shops run by the societies sold drugs and medical requisites to the value of 2,625,000 dinars.

The health co-operative societies are not merely concerned with curative medicine but also do a great deal in the way of *prophylaxis, education, improvement of hygienic conditions,* etc. The centres of these activities are the "health houses." Medical advice for pregnant and nuursing mothers was provided free of charge by 31 societies; 1,714 pregnant women and 3,297 infants were examined and 827 mothers consulted the co-operative societies' doctors during the year.

Recently the Union of Health Co-operative Societies organised courses on child care, which were held at the co-operative societies and lasted one week. During 1938-39, 375 women attended the courses. Further, the nurses in charge of the courses visited and gave advice to 471 women.

The co-operative societies' doctors are also responsible for medical inspection in rural elementary schools. During 1938, 18,631 school-children were examined.

During the year under review, the Union of Health Co-operative Societies organised a *travelling dental clinic,* which visited all the societies.

The activities of the *juvenile* and *women's sections* continued. The programme, theoretical and practical, of the juvenile sections includes general co-operative training, hygiene, and the improvement of crops and of stock raising. This technical and sanitary progress is encouraged by competitions for which prizes are given, organised either by individual sections or between all the sections. The juvenile sections contribute to the welfare of the community: they provide new kinds of food to supplement the deficiencies of the peasants' diet, which is usually too monotonous and

too poor in quality; new sources of income for the peasant household; and for the village and its homes the equipment they lack.

The women's sections play much the same part with regard to women's occupations as the juvenile sections do with regard to those of young persons. Courses are organised for women and girls on general health questions, certain agricultural work (vegetable and flower gardening, poultry keeping), and household work. As the juvenile sections share in the sanitary improvement of the village, so the women's sections help by seeing that houses are clean and well-kept, contributions paid regularly and courses, meetings, etc., regularly attended.

Since 1934 the health co-operative societies have been undertaking the organisation of *veterinary services*. The programme of these services is similar and in some respects supplementary to that of the societies themselves: prompt care for sick animals at the lowest possible cost, collective measures to prevent disease, improvement of breeds, etc.

The veterinary sections organised by a certain number of co-operative societies have carried on such propaganda and educational work, in which the co-operative stock breeding societies have collaborated since 1936. The number of veterinary sections increased from 14 in 1934-35 to 105 in 1938-39, and the number of their veterinary surgeons from 4 to 37. A great many animals are vaccinated every year (1,597 pigs in 1934-35; 59,335 in 1938-39). The serum and medical supplies are largely produced in laboratories owned by the co-operative societies.

In May, 1938, 14 health co-operative societies and stock breeding co-operative societies set up the first veterinary co-operative society at Sabac, with 1,575 individual members. In spite of difficulties caused by an epidemic of foot and mouth disease, the society has been successful. It covers 37 villages. Its veterinary surgeons have given 20 lectures and have thus from the very outset set about educating the farmers by teaching them modern methods of stock raising.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE SIXTEENTH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKEJEE

The sixteenth death anniversary of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was commemorated on the 25th May, 1940. As usual, all the departments of the University observed the Asutosh Day.

A morning service was held on the day at the foot of Sir Asutosh's statue, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta, which opened with songs sung by Mr. S. K. Chatterjee and the students of the Asutosh College. Sir M. N. Mukherji conducted the prayer. Many eminent citizens attended the function.

In the afternoon there was a meeting in the Darbhanga Building, Calcutta University. The statue of Sir Asutosh at the head of the marble stairs was heavily garlanded and incense was burned in large quantities. Sanskrit hymns were recited by MM. Pramathanath Tarkabhushan for the

repose of the departed Soul. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan made a short speech in which he recalled his first meeting with the late Sir Asutosh and the great services he had rendered in the cause of his country and of the Bengali language. Sir Sarvapalli spoke of him as a nation builder whose help and guidance would have been of the utmost importance if he were spared to leave the country at this critical hour of its history.

Kirtan songs were sung by Sj. Ratneswar Mukherjee and his party by way of concluding the proceedings.

This meeting was attended by large numbers of University teachers and by members of the general public.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Speeches and Addresses by Sir John Anderson, 1932-37. Edited by B. Roy.

The book contains only a selection of the hundreds of speeches made by Sir John Anderson during the tenure of his office as Governor of Bengal from April, 1932 to November, 1937. When Sir John assumed charge of Bengal there were, in addition to the menace of terrorism, slump in the price of agricultural products, unemployment and stringent finances. The first of these led to shrinkage of credit while the Meston Award was depriving Bengal of its legitimate share of the proceeds of the jute export duty. The system of education was also found to be defective as it was no longer a passport to remunerative employment. We do not, however, agree with the opinion that terrorism was exclusively due to the last factor, for political discontent too played its part in encouraging its appearance. The addresses included in this volume indicate the reaction of Sir John Anderson to these diverse problems.

No one can deny Sir John Anderson the possession of administrative ability of a high order or refuse to give him credit for the successful way in which he handled the situation. Bengal owes a deep debt of gratitude to him for the way in which he fought the Government of India and wrested from unwilling hands part of Bengal's dues in the shape of a larger fraction of the Jute Export duty. Nor should Bengal forget the facilities for the practical training he provided for detenus so that after their release they would not experience much difficulty in earning a living,

As is to be expected, Sir John's pronouncements on terrorism are very often blunt and not always just, for the circumstances were such that his views could not but be coloured by the reports he had before him —a disadvantage shared by all who, by reason of the position they hold, are precluded from coming into intimate contact with Indian life in all its multifarious aspects. Added to it there is the inescapable language difficulty which must always stand as a barrier between the Governor and the governed. But even after granting all these drawbacks every fair-minded man must admit that Sir John handled the situation according to his honest convictions and carried through his ideas in spite of the unpopularity which was unavoidable under the circumstances.

The one criticism levelled against Sir John Anderson was that he was occasionally harsher than was actually necessary. The public has no access to the documents which led to the adoption of these measures and criticism of this type we do not, therefore, consider fair.

We commend the book to those who are desirous of familiarising themselves with a critical period in the history of Bengal.

H. C. Mookerjee

The Problem of Minorities or Communal Representation in India.— By K. B. Krishna. Published by George Allen and Unwin. Pp. 359. Price 15*s*. 1939.

The book under review was submitted to the Harvard University in partial fulfilment of its requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to which Degree the author has been most deservedly admitted.

It is very difficult to write about contemporary affairs without taking sides ; but, then, it is always impossible to write about anything without putting oneself down on paper. But what accounts for and excuses the apparently personal reflections in this book is that the complexity and intricacy of modern political problems are making political science immensely practical. So when the author says that "the demand for the abolition of communal representation is inseparable from a demand for independence," the reader should not think that he is going beyond the limits of an academic discourse. The very nature of the problem the author has taken up necessitates such observations without which the author could not have made himself clear.

The study of the origin and history of the minority problem which is profusely documented is really illuminating and the author has made it abundantly clear that the minority problem "is a part of the general struggle for Indian social economy represented by the professional and industrialist classes and their allies, not of the entire social economy, but part of it, against British imperialism and amongst themselves." The findings of ethnology have been brought to bear upon the question whereby the author has very ably exposed the bogey of "linguistic" or "religious" minority. The book is indeed the fruit of extensive study and much thinking.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Elements of Indian Company Law.—By Sohrab R. Davar, Barrister-at-law. Butterworths. Third Edition.

Mr. Davar is well-known as a writer of books on Mercantile Law, and his ability and experience received recognition by his inclusion as a member in the Committee appointed by the Government of India for Companies Act Amendment, 1936. Owing to some of the drastic amendments made by the Amendment Act of 1936, a clear and connected statement of the law as it stands, compared with the law it replaces, has been rendered somewhat difficult, but Mr. Davar has made ample use of his opportunities to present a lucid analysis of the amended law, which makes the present edition of the book very helpful for the students of the Indian Universities for whom it is primarily intended. The main characteristic of Mr. Davar's book is the practical application of law, which is always kept before the reader's eye, and, accordingly, those who have to deal in actual practice with the many problems of the Indian Company Law, will also find the book very useful for reference. The style of the book is attractive and the get-up excellent.

SURES CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

Inside India.—By Madam Halidè Edib. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin. Pp. 378. 7*s.* 6*d.*

We can say about a foreigner's account of a country what Asquith said about biography—that it is not made, but it happens. Indeed, the success of both is determined more by a unique concurrence of circumstances than by the powers of individual pens. Unwholesome partisanship which is sometimes inevitable in such a book may be excused by a brilliancy of

execution just as impartiality of outlook may come very near to insipidity. Halidè Edib's "Inside India," which is a happy combination of the keen sensibility of an artist, the discerning eye of a social thinker and the broad sympathy of a lover of humanity, strangely keeps itself above criticism. The book may not be unimpugnable to some, but it surely disarms all. The truth is that she does not set down anything in malice and nothing extenuates, although her delicate sensitiveness and excellent style save the book from the dulness of excessive accuracy. The book is indeed not so much a verdict as a picture, not so much a thoughtful tract as an impassioned narrative. The author talks about Indian politics but then she also describes the Indian folk. In her reflections on such grave problems as Hindoo-Muslim Unity, Satyagraha or Untouchability she is neither dogmatic nor vainly speculative. She only looks and wonders, upbraids nothing but falsehood and upholds nothing but truth. But not a few would fail to catch the message behind her brilliant portraits.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Rabindra Nath Tagore: His Personality and Work.—By Professor V. Lesny. Translated by Guy McKeever Phillips with a Foreword by C. F. Andrews. Published by George Allen and Unwin, London. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

Prof. Lesny came out to India and lived at Santiniketan for a pretty long time and learned Bengali. He had thus an opportuntty of studying Tagore's Works in original, and acquired first-hand knowledge of the Poet by an intimate contact with the Poet himself.

Thus equipped, Prof. Lesny ventured on his arduous task. He has tried to enter into the spirit of Tagore's personality and work with the humility of a seeker after truth. Unlike Edward Thompson, Prof. Lesny has adopted the method of a faithful chronicler and every page of this volume of 288 pages bears an eloquent impress of his close acquaintance with almost all the published writings of the poet ending with " Patraput " (published in 1937).

In his rather rapid survey of the literary work of Rabindranath, the author has given his readers, those of the West in particular, a glimpse into the versatility of the Poet's genius as a poet, a playwright, an essayist, a novelist, a short story and charade writer, a philologist, a musical composer and a painter, and also an idea of his national and international activities. He has also attempted to give an idea of the Poet's varied contributions in the spheres of philosophy, religion, politics, education and culture, and of his indefatigable energy in connection with the welfare of humanity.

For those who wish to have an idea of the greatness of Rabindranath through the medium of English, this handbook will be invaluable In his exposition of the bewildering variety of the Poet's activities, Prof. Lesny has brought his critical insight and artistic appreciation to bear on his work and he has thus been able to do justice to a great personality who is rightly regarded as one of the most magnificent figures in world history at the present time. The author's treatment of the subject even to the minutest detail is inspired by a rare sympathy for a subject which is in many respects alien to the Western mind. This accounts for the success of his sketch. The difficulties of his self-imposed task did not stand in the way of his forming a true estimate of the Indian mind with all its mystic subtleties and proud heritage of an age-old culture.

One cannot but be struck by the unbounded admiration and affection with which the writer has treated the subject of this remarkable portraiture. To him Rabindranath is not merely a poet or a philosopher, but a seer who is literally an embodiment of the vision of a new world order. He describes the Poet as 'the apostle of enlightened humanity,' 'the bright day star which announces a new morn,' and one who is 'still loftier than the world suspects.' To those who have known Rabindranath Tagore intimately and followed his devoted worship in the temple of the Muses, to those who have seen how he has created modern Bengal and raised it in the estimation of the world will not fail to appreciate the glowing tribute which the learned Professor has paid to one of Bengal's greatest sons.

KHAGENDRANATH MITRA

Brāhmaṇaparicaya.—By Mahendrachandra Kavyatirtha Sankhyarnava. Published by Sudhindrakumar Bhattacharyya, 49 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Double crown, 8+68 pages, cloth bound. Annas eight only. 1935 B.S. To be had at D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

A belief has gained ground among the people of Bengal that there ruled in Bengal a king named Ādiśūra, who brought a number of Brahmins and high class Kāyasthas and granting them lands made them settle down in Bengal and the belief finds its support in the *Kulajis* kept by the ghaṭakas of this province. They also point out that Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa, the author of the famous drama *Venisaṃhāra*, was one of those Brahmins. But doubts are entertained as to the authenticity of this story by others, who allege, as their reason, that in Bengal there was no dearth of Brahmins and Kāyasthas. At the time when such a controversy rages, we are very glad to receive this work by Pandit Mahendrachandra Kavyatirtha Sankhyarnava, who has examined very deeply this question and his researches in this direction have brought out incontrovertible proofs from authentic documents which, we feel assured, will lay at rest this dispute about the existence of King Ādiśūra in Bengal and the Brahmins brought by him.

The learned author has pointed out some obvious mistakes in the interpretations and readings of the *Silimpur Edict* of Dr. Radhagovinda Basak and the *Subhaṅkara Plate* of Prof. Padmanath Bhattacharyya and shown that in the above-mentioned Edict and Plate, it is written in unequivocal language that a group of highly educated Brahmins did come from Śrāvasti of Kanauj to Bengal and that these Brahmins are the ancestors of the Rāḍhīya and the Bārendra Brahmins of the present day. There had been a controversy between the author and the late Prof. Padmanath Bhattacharyya and their laborious discussions are to be found in different journals and periodicals; and the present publication mainly embodies, with some additions, the result of this controversy. In this controversy, the laurel of victory may, with justice, be claimed by the author, who has expended much labour and painstaking diligence in interpreting the correct meaning of the Plates and the reading of the authors appears to us to be correct and convincing.

From a careful perusal of this book any and every historian is sure to be convinced of the following facts:

1. That the interpretations and readings of the Garuḍa pillar Edict in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, Silimpur rock Edict in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII and the Subhaṅkara Plate, etc., in the *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali* are faulty, misleading and one-sided.

2. That a group of highly talented Brahmins came from Kanauj and settled in Bengal about the eighth century A.D.

3. That the so-called *sāmpradāyika* Brahmins (the *Nāgara* Brahmins according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *cf. The Indian Antiquary*) of Sylhet seem to have originally been none other than the so many *Sāmparadānika* Brahmins, who were offered to the service of Haṭṭanātha Śiva, as evidenced by the *Bhāṭera* Copper-plates.

Cf. Nānāparijanāṃ stasmai janajātiranekaśaḥ,
Prādāt Śrī-haṭṭanāthāya Śivāya śivakīrtanaḥ.

To conclude, it is gratifying to note that Pandit Mahendrachandra's first-hand researches in his *Brāhmaṇaparicaya* will mark a new epoch in ancient Indian history and culture. He has rendered a great service to the country. And we hope that henceforward no doubt will linger in the minds of the researchers as regards the existence of King Ādiśūra of Bengal and of the Śūra dynasty, as also the story of the Brahmins with their attendants brought from Kanauj to Bengal by the king, in consequence of the great paucity of such learned Brahmins, who could perform the much complicated Vedic *yajñas* according to Vedic prescriptions.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

East versus West: A denial of contrast.—By P. Kodanda Rao, with a Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by George Allen and Unwin. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Till the advent of the Industrial Revolution which changed the social and economic structure in England and then in most parts of Europe, there was little to differentiate the East from the West. The Industrial Revolution, however, quickly spread to other parts of the world and to-day the civilization of most parts of the globe is the civilization of the machine age. Apostles of British Imperialism and race superiority incessantly preached that "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet" and hampered the way to a better understanding among the nations without which modern civilization, now nobody's exclusive possession, is bound to meet with its inevitable doom.

At this present crisis of civilization Mr. Kodanda Rao has done well to publish a work exposing the fallacies inherent in such terms as East and West and Occidental and Oriental civilizations. Since the world is round geographically, the terms East and West mean nothing. Japan is East of Europe as well as West of Europe. Culturally again no definite line can be drawn to distinguish the East from the West.

The author rightly points out that "Civilization is not property..... Civilization is a common heritage.....Civilization is one and is indivisible into Eastern and Western; its elements are a function over time, decreasingly of space but never of race."

If this work, with its appeal to the intellectual world, serves, in the smallest degree, to banish popular conceptions of the irreconcilability of races and cultures and helps to bring about better understanding between nations, the author will be reckoned to have rendered a great service to humanity.

A. P. D. G.

Ourselves

[I. Asutosh Day.—II. Statistics as a new subject for Degree Examinations.—III. A New Endowment—IV. Basanta Lecturer for 1932.– V. Dr. Niharranjan Ray.—VI. All-India Radio, New Delhi.—VII. Chicago University Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration.—VIII. D.P.H. Examination.—IX. Extension of Affiliation.—X. Women's College, Calcutta.—XI. Report on the Junior Military Certificate Examination, April, 1940.]

I. Asutosh Day

The Sixteenth Anniversary of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was commemorated on the 25th May, 1940. The day was observed by all the departments of the University.

In the morning there was a meeting at the foot of Sir Asutosh's statue, Chowringhee Square, with Sir M. N. Mukherji as President. It was attended in large numbers by members of the general public. After songs by Mr. Sanatkumar Chatterjee and the girl students of the Asutosh College, Sir M. N. Mukherji offered a prayer bringing the function to a close.

In the afternoon another meeting was held at the foot of Sir Asutosh's bust in the Darbhanga Building. Sir S. Radhakrishnan presided. The meeting opened with 'Mangalacharan' hymns recited by MM. Pramathanath Tarkabhushan, after which songs specially composed for the occasion by Sj. Kalidas Roy were sung by Mr. S. K. Chatterjee. Sir Sarvapalli made a brief speech recalling his first meeting with Sir Asutosh, and paying tribute to his great services in the cause of this country, especially its language, history and culture.

The meeting concluded with *kirtan* songs sung by Sj. Ratneswar Mukherjee and his party.

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II. Statistics as a New Subject for Degree Examinations

Our University is taking steps for introducing Statistics as a new subject for Degree Examinations. A syllabus has been prepared by eminent scholars under the direction of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, President, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts. The course of studies in Statistics will be adopted when finally approved by Government.

III. A New Endowment

Pandit Abhoycharan Jyotirbinode, Calcutta, has offered to place at the disposal of our University the sum of Rs 1,350 for the creation of an endowment for the annual award of a gold medal to be called the "Kalidas Memorial Medal" in memory of the donor's son, who lost his life in a train collison on the 17th April, 1939. The Medal is to be awarded from this year to the student who passes the Matriculation Examination in the first division, standing first from the Calcutta Training Academy. The donor has offered an additional sum of Rs. 50 for the purpose.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

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IV. Basanta Lecturer for 1939

Dr. John B. Grant, M.D., M.P.H., Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, has been invited by the University to deliver a course of two lectures as Basanta Lecturer of the University for the year 1939.

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V. Dr. Niharranjan Ray

Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt. Phil. (Leyden), Dip. Lib. (Lond.), has been appointed Secretary to the University Students' Information Bureau with effect from the 1st June, 1940, in succession to Prof. Phanindranath Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D., Sc.D., F.Inst.P.

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VI. All-India Radio, New Delhi

Our University has appointed a committee with authority to nominate a student who will work as an unpaid apprentice at the All-India Radio, New Delhi, for learning Radio Engineering. The Controller of Broadcasting, All-India Radio, has promised to offer all necessary facilities to the student whom this University will nominate to enable him to study the subject.

VII. Chicago University Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration

On the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Chicago University which will be held in September, 1942, our University has conveyed its good wishes to the Director of the Celebration.

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VIII. D.P.H. Examination

The University has accepted a recommendation made by the Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, to the effect that the D.P.H. Examination, Parts I and II, be held in October and November (after the Pujas) and in April respectively.

This year as a transitional measure the D.P.H. Examination, Part II, which was held in April would be held once more in July.

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IX. Extension of Affiliation

Subject to approval by Government, the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, has been affiliated in the following new subjects:—(1) Commercial Geography and (2) Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. standard and (3) in Bengali (Second Language) and (4) Hindi (Second Language) to the B.A. Pass standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1940-41.

* * *

X. Women's College, Calcutta

Subject to approval by Government, the Women's College, Calcutta, has been affiliated to the I.A. and B.A. (Pass) standards with effect from the commencement of the session, 1940-41, in the following subjects:— I.A.—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Bengali (Second Language), Elements of Civics and Economics, Logic, Sanskrit, History and Mathematics; B.A.—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Bengali (Second Language), History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Sanskrit and Mathematics.

XI. Report on the Junior Military Certificate Examination, April, 1940

Twenty-four candidates were registered for the Examination, of whom only one was absent. The total number of candidates who passed the examination is twenty-one. The percentage of pass is 87·5. In 1939 it was 61·7.